THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

Lieutenant Kitchener returned to England in January, and after a short leave, joined Lieut. Conder at the South Kensington Museum, where he is now engaged in arranging and writing the Memoirs for the sheets of the Map executed by himself. The Memoirs of Lieutenant Conder are almost completed. He leaves the service of the Committee at the end of April, after six years' work on the survey of Western Palestine. A note on his new book will be found later on.

The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, amounted in all to the triangulation and survey of 1,340 square miles of country; every ruin was examined, and special reports on all villages and water supply were drawn up; the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee was completed, 1,700 square miles of country were revised, 3,850 names were collected and 816 ruins examined and described, 29 special plans and 19 photographs were taken, besides notes on all archæological and geological points of interest in the country.

The most interesting discovery, from a Biblical point of view, announced in the present *Quarterly Statement*, is that of the "Stone of Bethphage." The account given by Captain Guillemot differs from that of Lieut. Kitchener in one important particular. The stone is not in the centre of a circular chapel, but within a chapel the plan of which has been drawn by Lieut. Kitchener. It is probably that mentioned by Theodoricus, the passage from whom is quoted by M. Clermont Ganneau (p. 59). We have here, therefore, the Bethphage of tradition.

The work for the year will consist entirely of the preparation of Map and Memoirs. Everything is being pushed on as rapidly as possible.

The following is the financial position of the Fund (March 25, 1878). Receipts, December 12th to March 25th, £911 6s. 5d. Expenditure, same period: Exploration, £455 6s. Printing, £200. General expenses and small bills, £355 1s. 6d. The balance in the banks at the latter date was £126 13s. 5d.

This small balance would probably have been much larger but for an apparently prevalent belief that the work of the Fund is over, and its expenses no longer heavy. First, the special work of the survey of Western Palestine is by no means over, nor will it be over until Map and Memoirs are completed and published. And secondly, not only is there the usual monthly expenditure to be met, but there are many debts which have to be paid off. Subscribers will strengthen the hands of the Committee very much if they will send their subscriptions for the year as early as convenient.

The controversy on the Moabite pottery has been continued during the last quarter. We reproduce the most important portions of the letters on the subject published in the *Athenæum*. The two "idols" brought home by Lieut. Kitchener are now in the office of the Fund, and can be seen by any visitor.

Two mistakes were allowed to pass in the January *Quarterly Statement*. In one of them the meeting in the Kensington Vestry was spoken of as a meeting in South Kensington. And in the other, the extracts from the *Descriptiones Palæstinæ* on the Position of Sion were headed *Positions* of Sion.

In the account of the Kensington meeting in the last *Quarterly Statement*, the names, also, of the following speakers were omitted: Rev. Dr. Francis Hessey, Rev. Dr. Raleigh, and Mr. Edmond Beales.

We have to report the loss of three members of the General Committee by death. The first of these, Mr. Ambrose Phillipps de Lisle, was a member of the Committee from the beginning, but has not of late taken an active interest in work. The second, Sir Gilbert Scott, also joined the Committee at the foundation of the Society. The third is the Rev. George Williams, whose interest in the Fund has been unflagging, and whose personal assistance in addresses, speeches, and writing has always been very great. Canon Williams is chiefly known by his work on Jerusalem called the "Holy City." The first edition of this, partly prepared during his residence in Jerusalem, appeared in 1845. A second edition, greatly enlarged, and enriched by Professor Willis's paper on the Architecture of the Holy Sepulchre, was issued in 1849. The author was at the time of his death, which was sudden, engaged in the preparation of a third edition. It is not yet known how far he had advanced with this design.

The death is also announced of Mr. Joseph Bonomi, the companion of Mr. Catherwood, the first European who (in 1833) examined and surveyed the Haram

area. Mr. Bonomi, who spoke Arabic fluently, had often visited, but was not able to survey or sketch, the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque el Aksa in the disguise of a Mohammedan pilgrim. Mr. Catherwood, who wore the dress of an Egyptian officer, was suffered to make drawings and take measurements, in the belief that he was ordered to do so by Mehemet Ali for the purpose of repairing the holy places. He introduced Bonomi and Mr. Arundale, on the pretence of requiring assistance, nor was it till the work was completed and the travellers at a safe distance from the city that the deception was discovered. Mr. Bonomi was for many years Curator of the Soane Museum.

Later on will be found an announcement of the general contents of Lieut. Conder's new book. It will be published at 24s. The Committee have resolved on reducing the price to subscribers to 17s. 6d., postage paid. But it can only be obtained at this price by application to the London office. Names will be received in advance. The book will be ready towards the end of April.

Several cases were discovered in 1876, and one or two last year, of postage stamps being lost on their way to the office. The only way to avoid such loss is to send money by P.O.O. or by cheque, *in every case payable to the order of Walter Besant, and crossed to Coutts and Co., or the Union Bank, Charing Cross Branch.*

The ninth thousand of "Our Work in Palestine" is now ready (price 3s. 6d.), and may be ordered of booksellers. This book carries the work down to the commencement of the Survey, but does not embrace M. Ganneau's discoveries nor the results of the Survey itself.

The following are at present Representatives and Lecturers of the Society, in addition to the local Hon. Secs.:—

Archdeaconry of Hereford: Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

City and neighbourhood of Manchester: Rev. W. F. Birch, St. Saviour's Rectory.

Lancashire: Rev. John Bone, St. Thomas's Vicarage, Lancaster.

London: Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich: Rev. W. F. Creeny.

Suffolk: Rev. F. C. Long, Stow-upland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough: Rev. A. J. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester: Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Diocese of Ripon: Rev. T. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

North Wales: Rev. John Jones, Treborth, Bangor.

Yorkshire, Durham, and the North: Rev. James King, 13, Paradise Terrace, Darlington. Mr. King is now in the Holy Land, but communications for lectures, &c., can be sent to the Office at Charing Cross.

IRELAND.—Diocese of Armagh: Rev. J. H. Townsend.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

SCOTLAND.—Rev. R. J. Craig, Dalgetty, Burntisland.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, has also kindly offered his services among the Nonconformist churches.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application.

The Committee are always glad to receive old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which have been advertised as out of print.

TENT WORK IN PALESTINE.

Lieut. Conder's book is expected to be ready about the third or fourth week in April. The Committee are anxious that the work should be understood to be presented by Lieut. Conder not as the scientific result of the Survey, which will be looked for in the twenty-six sheets of the Map, and the voluminous Memoirs, plans, special surveys, and drawings which will accompany them, but as a book naturally growing out of the note-books and observations of a traveller. It is a record of personal adventure, with sketches and drawings made on the spot. It contains also a more popular account of certain interesting discoveries and suggested identifications than is possible in the dry details of a scientific memoir.

From the table of contents of the book are taken the following heads:—

Vol. I. An account of the Samaritans and of the ancient manuscripts of Shechem. Description of Ebal and Gerizim. The accounts of Josephus compared with the results of the Survey as regards Samaria, Cæsarea, and Masada. The origin of the monastery of Carmel told by one of the last monks who remembers the foundation. Cana of Galilee, with an account of the early notices of the place. Adventures among the Arabs of Sharon, Damascus, and Baalbek. From the Summit of Hermon. Christmas at Bethlehem. Easter at Jerusalem. The site of Calvary. The site of the Temple compared with the ascertained rock levels of the Haram Area.

Vol. II. Jericho, Gilgal, and the Cities of the Plain. The Jordan Valley. Bethabara and Megiddo. David's Wanderings. The Desert of Judæa. Masada.

The Valley of Michmash, Bethel, Ai, Spring in Philistia, Lachish, Ascalon, Galilee. The Safed attack. Customs, language, and probable origin of the Fellaheen. Arabs, Jews, Russian Pilgrims and German Colonists. Fertility and Future of Palestine.

In an appendix will be published a complete list of the cities and towns mentioned in the Bible, with the identifications which have been proposed.

The illustrations, all from drawings made by the author in Palestine, or from new photographs, and chiefly of scenes never before figured, consist of six full-page and about thirty half-page woodcuts, engraved by Mr. Edward Whymper.

Those subscribers who wish to avail themselves of the privilege of obtaining the book at reduced price are requested to forward their names to the Secretary as soon as possible.

Although the work is issued by the Committee, it must be understood that the opinions expressed are those of the author, and that the Committee do not, in publishing the book, sanction or adopt Lieut. Conder's views.

THE ROSE OF SHARON.

Mrs. Finn writes, with reference to Lieut. Conder's note on this subject (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1878, p. 46): "During our seventeen years' residence in Palestine I had many opportunities of seeing roses growing in the Holy Land, both cultivated and wild. I have a wild dog-rose gathered in Lebanon. I saw another growing and in blossom on the roadside between Nablûs and Jerusalem. Roses have been also cultivated in Palestine for a very long period, and they thrive well. The Hebrew word may well mean the Rose. It signifies, as does its cognate Arabic, the root of a bulbous plant. The flower of a rose is like a bulb in the way its petals are folded over each other. Hence the name applied to both."

THE STONE OF BETHPHAGE.

I.

(Abridged from a paper published in the *Revue Archæologique*, Dec., 1877, by M. Clermont Ganneau.)

I HAVE received from the Frère Lièvin certain documents and drawings relating to an important discovery lately made near Jerusalem. They describe a Crusaders' monument, interesting both as regards the history of Western art in the East, and as illustrating the topography of Jerusalem. Frère Lièvin was fortunate in obtaining the valuable assistance of Captain Guillemot, to whose pen we owe the drawings here engraved. Farther on will also be found a notice drawn up by Captain Guillemot on the monument, its origin and destination, in support of which I shall have a few remarks to offer. The drawings are the more valuable because the monument has greatly suffered since

the clearing out. I heard, for instance, in October, that a part of the inscription painted on the western side fell off shortly after it was copied.

The excavations undertaken with a view to clear out the monument met with every kind of obstacle from the natives until the intervention of Reouf Pacha, who has rendered a great service to science in this matter—one which ought not to be forgotten, and which leads us to count on him for the future as an enlightened protector and patron of archæological research.

The following is the text of Captain Guillemot's report :—

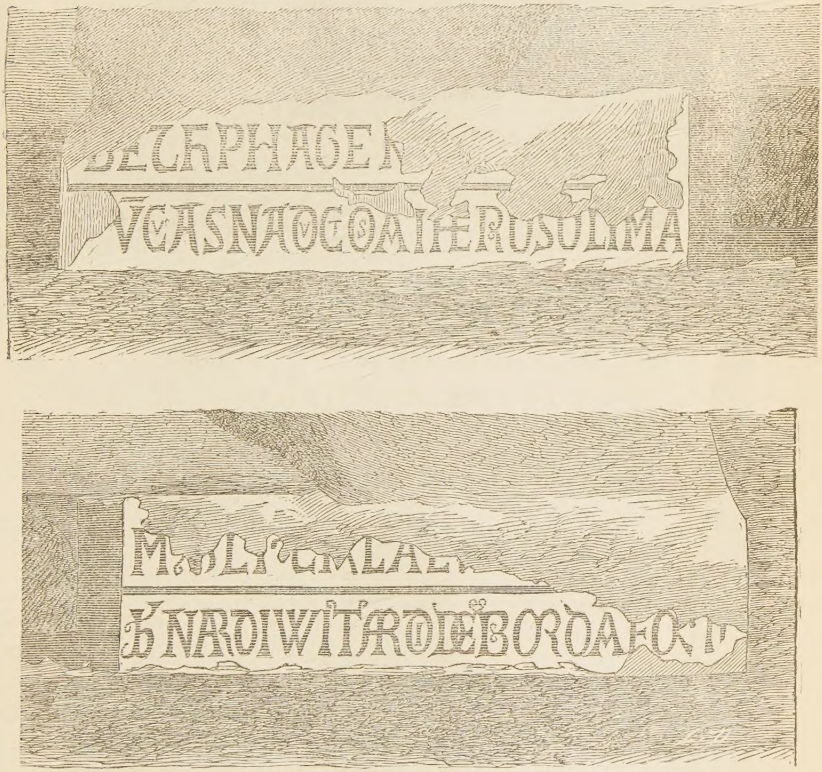
"On leaving the Convent of Carmelites on the Mount of Olives to go to Bethany, the path to the east follows the contour of the south side of the mountain. After a gentle descent of about five hundred metres it turns abruptly to the south, passing over a natural ridge, which unites the Mount of Olives with that of Bethany.

"When you are arrived at the middle of the ridge, turn to the east, the Dead Sea is visible in the distance ; behind you, on the west, is the group of sanctuaries, the Ascension, the Pater Noster, and the Credo ; on the north, at the left, you are overlooked by the new constructions of the Russian Archimandrite ; the road of Bethany, on the right, runs to the south, and if you advance a few steps you are on the spot where the most ancient traditions place Bethphage.

"Some time in the spring of the present year a *fellah* of Jebel Tur, digging on this spot in the hope of finding building stones, struck upon a polished block, upon which, on clearing away the earth, he found paintings and characters. In the hope of backsheesh he ran to his neighbours the Russians ; these, however, preoccupied with the coming war, told him to cover all up and leave it for the present.

"For centuries past the Franciscans have been accustomed to celebrate

every year the Feast of Saint Magdalene at Bethany; on their return they halt at Bethphage in order to recite the Gospel of Palm Sunday. During the ceremony of this year (July 23, 1877) an assistant perceived certain letters on the *stèle*, which had been imperfectly covered over, and clearing away a portion of it, found a Latin inscription in Roman characters. The father in charge of the sacred places, recognising at once the importance of this discovery, instructed Frère Lièvin to com-



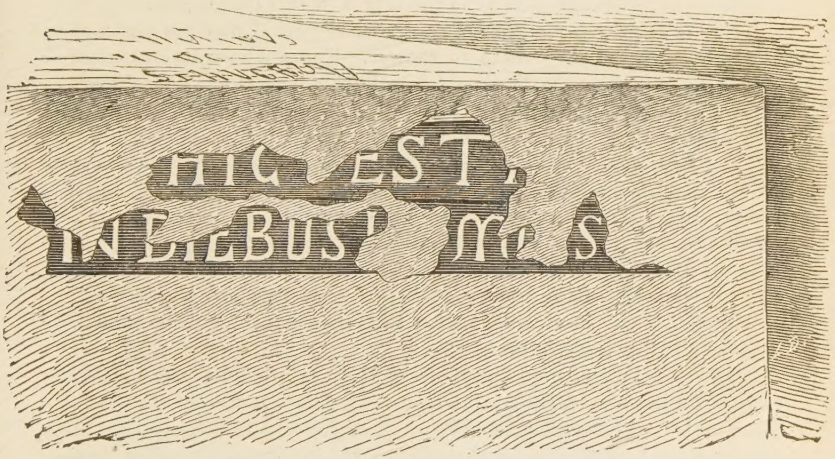
mence excavations as soon as possible; to take notes of and to copy accurately everything that should be found.

"Shortly after, Frère Lièvin, having with him a small band of workmen armed with pickaxe and spade, brought me to the Mount of Olives and asked for my assistance. The moment our work was commenced the cupidity of the *fellahin* began to raise difficulties. Every resident of Jebel Tur pretended immediately to be the sole proprietor of this spot, hitherto neglected; and, to crown all, the villagers of Bethany declared

that the place belonged to their territory. I had, however, time to make notes of two fragments of inscription and a sketch of the north side of the fresco, representing the master of the castle according to the two disciples permission to carry away the ass and the foal.

"Next day, when I came back to compare my finished drawing with the original and to study the details, the excavations had been completely filled up and again partly cleared out. Happily, the part which I then wanted was not hidden.

"Next day, the same trouble; there was only the western face which remained partly uncovered. It was possible, however, to draw the figures bearing palms and hardly visible which stand on the right and left of the niche. Two days afterwards the whole was completely covered over; not even the top of the stone was visible.



"These proceedings resulted from disputes between the *fellahin*, some of them wanting the excavations to proceed in the hope of getting backsheesh, and the others filling them up, as fast as made, out of jealousy.

"Things being in this position, Frère Lièvin had recourse to the Pacha, who immediately accorded us his protection. Orders were given by his excellency to the chiefs of the villages of Bethany and Jebel Tur; a soldier was placed on guard over the excavations, and we were enabled to continue our labours in peace.

"The fresco which I had, happily, copied carefully had been seriously damaged by the pickaxes and by the continual friction with stones and earth; several letters of the inscription had disappeared. I made haste to note all that remained; it was fortunate that I did so, because shortly afterwards an unknown hand destroyed in our absence the greater part of the rest.

"The *stèle* measures 1·30 metres (4ft. 3·18in.) in its greatest length; in breadth it is 1·13 metres (3ft. 8·49in.) at the northern end, and 1·06 metres (or 3ft. 5·63in.) at the southern end. The height at the northern end is irregular, and averages one metre (3ft. 3·37in.) At the southern end it is 0·90 metres (2ft. 11·4in.). It is constructed of the rock on which it stands, a porous limestone, lying in irregular strata, with alternate soft and hard beds.

"The monolith has not been separated from the rock of which it forms part, except on the four faces.

"At first sight the monument would be taken for an altar, or even for a tomb. But there exist no traces of the steps and other accessories to an altar. As regards the second, there is no sign of any opening. The white stucco which covers it is still solid in certain places. The paintings are finely executed and of a striking character. Nevertheless, the inscriptions leave no doubt as to the origin of this decoration.

"But is it only a restoration? At what period was the stone cut? That is a question impossible to answer. Those who thus ornamented it must have had no doubt that formerly the rock stood out above the level of the soil, presenting a sort of rustic seat, and that our Lord may have sat upon it on a certain memorable day.

"*The Resurrection of Lazarus.*—The choice of the south side for this painting, which faces Bethany, and the subject, that of the permisssion to take the ass and the foal, makes me think that the west part, facing Jerusalem, must have represented the triumphant entry of our Lord into the Holy City. The figures which can still be seen bearing palms, on the two sides of the niche, are in favour of this hypothesis.

"This painting is much superior to the others. I believe, however, that it is by the same hand.

"On the façade of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre there is a Resurrection of Lazarus carved in the prolongation of the lintel. It is in great measure identical with that of Bethphage. Did the painter copy the sculptor? Perhaps while studying the vigorous bas-relief he may have acquired a more perfect understanding of the line and of light and shade. I am happy in having been able to copy this composition in time. At present it is greatly damaged; wet fingers have been passed over the figures, and have effaced them; many of them have quite disappeared.

"The fresco on the other side appears to be the blessing of the restoration of this little sanctuary. The notch which is observed in the upper part, about the middle, may have been to hide a defect in the stone.

"On clearing away the earth from our excavations we came upon a circular construction of a much more ancient appearance than the decoration of the *stèle*. The disposition and arrangement of the materials have nothing in common with Crusaders' work. Besides, at two metres from the circumference we found the fragment of a column standing still upright upon its base. Is this the first and most ancient

sanctuary, which those who restored the monument were unable to repair in its original grandeur? More complete examination of the place is required to prove the point.

"In any case, we ascertained that the *stèle* itself was in the centre of the circular space.*

"Near the monument lie a number of cisterns, some in ruins, some covered over and still in use. Their depth and size, and the fact that they are gathered together over a narrow space, their acknowledged antiquity, all go to prove that there once existed an important village in this place. Two of the reservoirs are in ruins; two others serve as watering-places for cattle. A small rocky ravine which used to feed these cisterns separates them towards the west from a mamelon which may very well be the site of Bethphage. I have seen on the ground broken pillars, fragments of marble pavement, an enormous quantity of broken Jewish pottery, and mosaic cubes of all colours, all of which have been brought to light by the cultivation of the soil.

"I one day met the proprietor on the spot at the moment when he was taking out of the ground a stone evidently once part of an aqueduct, and evidently of great age. I asked him if he found many things like it. He replied, 'You see all this place; I cannot dig anywhere without finding walls.' Then he added, 'There was formerly a city on this spot.' That, indeed, is the opinion of the whole country.

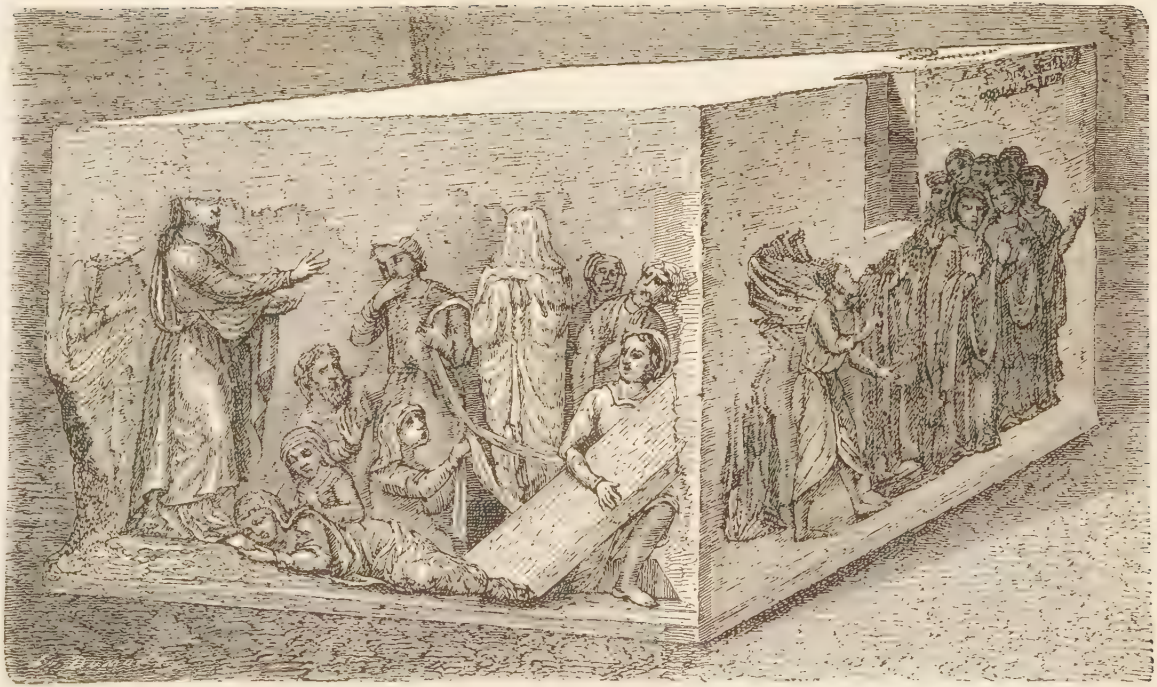
"It does not seem to me possible that Bethphage could have been placed on the side of a road which, shut in to right and left by two hills, is a mere gulf for the west wind, so terrible in this country. The old cities in the vicinity are all built on slopes which incline to the south-east. Now this mamelon near the cisterns has a similar inclination.

"Again let us turn to the sacred narrative. The Saviour came from Jericho towards Jerusalem; He had passed Bethany, and passed over the ground broken by the hills which separate the valleys of Bethany and Bethphage. 'Go,' He said to His disciples, 'to *the village over against you*' (Matt. xxi. 2). Now the road has not been changed, since it could have passed no other way than over the narrow ridge to join the Mount of Olives. If, then, the village was on the road, why send the disciples, since the Lord would pass it Himself? And if we look at the plan, we may be sure that the disciples, to make a short cut, descended the valley to climb the mamelon of Bethphage, while our Lord, with the rest of His disciples, continued to follow the road in the direction of the Mount of Olives, and there waited the return of the disciples.

"And to the faithful this stone would be that on which Jesus rested by the wayside and when He mounted the ass."

To this report M. Clermont Ganneau appends several pages of valuable comment. He points out that the niche shown in the drawing may, as Captain Guillemot suggests, have been carved on the stone originally, and in order to hide some defect; or it may have been cut by a *fellah* of more modern days to receive a beam for some construction of his

* See Lieut. Kitchener's Report and Plan, p. 61.



own. The inscription he ascribes, as beyond doubt, to the twelfth century. On one of the faces occurs the name of Bernard Witard. There appears in the Cartulary of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the name of Johannes Guitard (= Witard). Probably Bernard belonged to this family, and defrayed the expenses of the monument.

As regards the constructions found round the *stèle*, M. Ganneau is of opinion, in which Lieut. Kitchener's observations (see plan, p. 61) support him, that the wall was not actually circular, but apsidal, and part of a church, and he calls attention to the importance of proving that the church was built before the stone was painted. His own discovery of the *taille mediœvale* (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874) may be applied here.

As regards Captain Guillemot's suggestion that the stone may have been regarded as that on which our Lord rested, M. Ganneau brings direct proof that such was the case. He quotes Theodoricus de Locis Sanctis (A.D. 1072):—"Milliario ab Hierosolymis Bethania, ubi domus Simonis leprosi, Lazari et ejus sororum Mariæ et Marthæ erat, distat, ubi Dominus sæpe hospitari solebat. Sita est autem Bethania juxta vallum Oliveti, montem à parte orientali terminantem. A Bethania ergo in die palmarum dilectissimus dominus noster Jesus Christus præcedens et Bethphage veniens, qui locus inter Bethaniam et montem Oliveti medius est, ubi etiam honesta capella in ipsius honore est fabricata binos ad adducendum asinam et pullum misit discipulos, et stans super lapidem grandem qui in ista capella manifeste videtur, et asino insidens per montem Oliveti Hierosolymam properavit cui turba multa in descensu montis ipsius obviam processit."—Tobler's edit. p. 52.

So that in the second half of the twelfth century they showed between the Mount of Olives and Bethany the site of Bethphage and the place where Jesus had sent two of His disciples to seek the ass and the colt. There they had raised a "fair chapel"—*honesta capella*—and in this chapel was visible the stone on which our Lord stood before mounting the ass.

"This rock," says M. Ganneau, "can be no other than this monolith, from which the surrounding rock has been carefully cut away, lovingly covered on all sides by delicate paintings, which remind one of illuminations in a precious missal rather than an ordinary fresco drawn to hide the naked stone. . . . We may remember that the Crusaders had an especial predilection for fresco painting; they covered the walls of all the churches on the sacred sites with frescoes. Many pilgrims, especially John of Wurzburg, have preserved the description of these paintings, the subjects of which, all borrowed from the Old and the New Testament, were in accordance with the traditions of each sanctuary. These paintings were accompanied by long inscriptions, generally in rhymed Latin, according to the fashion of the time. It is a pity that John of Wurzburg did not visit the place and copy the inscriptions. He mentions, however, the church of Bethphage. Several other writers of the twelfth century speak of Bethphage and its church. Sœwulf, however (A.D. 1102), speaks as if a church had not yet been erected: "Bethphage, ubi

Dominus præmisit discipulos ad civitatem est in monte Oliveti, sed fere nusquam apparet."

Bernard (A.D. 865) says:—"In descensu etiam de monte Oliveti ad occidentalem plagam ostenditur marmor, de quo descendit dominus super pullum asinæ."

The "western" slope of Olivet will not fit in with our *stèle*, but the fact remains that in the ninth century such a stone was shown.

M. Ganneau goes on to show that the traditional site of Bethphage was maintained up to the 17th century. He concludes his paper (*Revue Archæologique*, Dec., 1877) as follows:—"We know, therefore, beyond any doubt, the point where the Crusaders localised the episode to which the name of Bethphage is attached. The ruins noticed by M. Guillemot not far from the painted stone belong to the Bethphage so called by the Crusaders. Is this mediæval Bethphage identical with that of the Gospel? This is a question quite distinct from the first. We know how different are opinions on the site of Bethphage. According to some who rely on the Greek text of Luke xix. 29, it is placed to the east or the south-east of Bethany; others consider it as identical with the modern village of Silwan; others, again, relying on the authority of the Talmud, make Bethphage a suburb of Jerusalem. For my own part, I confess that I ask myself whether Bethphage is not simply the village of the Mount of Olives called *Kefr et-Tûr*. I believe this village ancient on account of its name of *Kefr*, on account of its situation, and on account of the ancient remains that one sees there. *Kefr et-Tûr* means the *Village of the Mount of Olives*; it may formerly have had a designation more personal, which is lost. Now the Gospel tells us of an ancient locality whose name has disappeared; it is Bethphage, the *Village of the Mount of Olives*.

"This hypothesis will enable us to explain and understand certain Talmudic passages, which are all clear if one admits that Bethphage marked on the East the boundary of the Sabbatic zone which on every side surrounded the city. The Mount of Olives (by which we may now understand a particular point of this mount) was exactly a Sabbath-day's journey from Jerusalem. And what point could this be except the village of the mountain which occupied its principal summit and now bears its name?"

II.

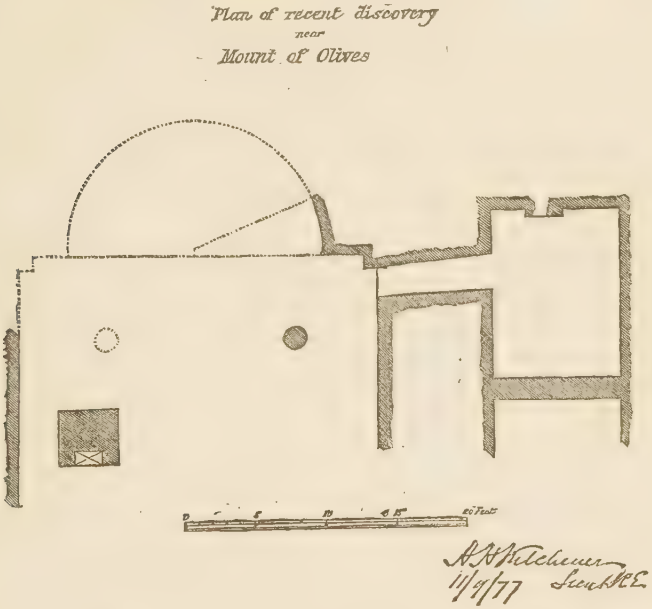
Lieutenant Kitchener's Report.

The road from the Mount of Olives to Bethany crosses a narrow ridge of land which joins the Mount of Olives to the hill above Bethany. On this narrow strip ancient tradition placed the site Bethphage, mentioned (Matt. xxi. 1; Mark xi. 1; and Luke xix. 29) as the place where our Lord mounted the ass for his triumphal entry into Jerusalem. The remains of an ancient chapel have been uncovered, dating probably from the twelfth or thirteenth century.

In the chapel there is an almost square block of masonry or rock covered with paintings; it measures 4ft. 3in. by 3ft. 6in. by 3ft. 10in.

high, and its position in the chapel is curious—being on the north side, probably between two columns of the nave, as seen on the accompanying plan.

This square block is supposed to be either an altar, a shrine, or a portion of the rock cut out and ornamented, being the exact place where our Lord mounted the ass.



The paintings, of which I send you pen-and-ink sketches, are well done, though now much disfigured. On the south side is the Raising of Lazarus; on the north are the Disciples fetching the Ass; on the east there are a number of persons standing in a row, but it is too much disfigured to be recognisable; on the west there is a niche covered by an arch, which was probably supported by two small columns; below the niche is a portion of an inscription still remaining; several lines have been destroyed.

On the top there was also some design and the traces of an inscription. The walls of the small chamber to the south were also painted with a design of squares containing circles, and the walls of the church were painted in a common pattern.

M. Le Capitaine Guillemot was the first to visit these remains, and he has made elaborate drawings and copies of the paintings and inscriptions when everything was almost perfect. These he is about to publish. He was able to read on different parts of the inscription, "Hic est," "Bethphagus," and "Hierusalem." H. H. K.

JOURNAL OF THE SURVEY.

JERUSALEM, *23rd November*, 1877.

The obstruction of the authorities of Nablus to my repairing Jacob's Well continued during the whole time I was there, in spite of all the measures I took to gain their compliance in a work which could only be for the good of all, Mohammedans and Christians alike. I was subjected to many indignities by the officials, which culminated on the 3rd of November by my being stoned by a mob of boys in the streets of Nablus. My letter of complaint to the acting governor was sent back unopened, showing that, if they had not connived at the insult to me, they intended taking no steps to punish the delinquents. The case is now officially before the ambassador, but owing to the unsatisfactory state of things in Turkey there is little hope of its being attended to for some time.

While at Nablus the revision went on steadily, and many important results were obtained. I made considerable search on Mount Ebal for the el Keniseh 'the church' described by Major Wilson, and with some difficulty found the name of a ruin 'el Kuneisah' spelt differently, and therefore not meaning a church. The people from the north side of the mountain who cultivate the ground were an extremely bad lot, and I had to make three expeditions to the top before I could gain any reliable information.

I sent Corporal Brophy with an expedition to Tulkerum to revise that portion of the map, which was successfully accomplished. On the 2nd I rode out to Teiasir to search for the tombs of the kings of Israel. As I was passing the village of Tubas I made some search after an inscription which had been reported, but after careful inquiry and search among the tombs, I could not hear of any inscription answering to my description. On visiting the mosque, however, they told me of a valuable stone that was built into the wall. Getting my fingers into a crevice under the stone, I could feel that it was inscribed. I therefore urged them to pull it out to adorn the mosque, and after a little persuasion in the shape of backsheesh they set to work and soon rooted out the stone. It proved to be an Arabic inscription, very much defaced, telling of the building and dedication of the mosque. Tubas is a large village of about 1,500 inhabitants, situated in a most fertile country. By paying £100 in gold to the Pasha of Nablus the people have escaped the conscription up to now, but I expect their term is nearly out, and unless they pay another heavy bribe they will soon be called upon to make up for the time they have been spared.

At Teiasir I was unable to identify the tombs of the kings. There are large numbers of caves and tombs on the side of a valley, but nothing to distinguish any above the rest. The surface of the walls is cut up with wine-presses and cisterns. On the top of the hill, above the tombs, there seemed to be traces of what might have been some large attached

sarcophagi, but they are so broken and worn down that it was impossible to be certain about them. The village is deserted, owing to the heavy demands for taxes and conscription. Half a dozen very unpleasing-looking men rushed out of a cave when they heard us, evidently meaning mischief; but on seeing that we were three, and well armed, they skulked off amongst the bushes. Poor creatures! they looked pinched with hunger, and were evidently very nearly driven to desperation. These are the sort of people that are making the country dangerous at this time. After visiting all the rock-cut tombs and caves and examining the remains of the old Roman masonry tomb, which reminded me of the one at Kades, though much smaller, we rode back along the remains of the Roman road. At one place four Roman milestones were thrown together in a heap. The engineering of these Roman roads was excellent. Over a most difficult country such as this it excites admiration to see the way that difficulties were got over with the least possible expenditure of labour. Should Palestine ever be reopened to civilisation, these roads will form the basis of the principal lines of communication through the country.

On passing Wady Farah I visited the tent of Fendy el Feis, the chief of the Beni Sakr. The tribe left the neighbourhood of Zerin on account of the row that was made about the murder of Mr. Gale, near Nazareth. The government had long wished to get rid of them, and seized the opportunity, when Mr. Moore arrived at Acre in a British man-of-war to inquire into the murder, to inform the Beni Sakr that it might be disagreeable to them if they remained, as suspicion was likely to fall on some of them.

Their tents were pitched in a lovely spot close to Burg el F'arah, on the high ground between the two springs 'Ain el F'arah and 'Ain ed Duleib. Both of them form streams of water at once, and run through groves of oleanders and bushes.

Fendy was absent in Moab arranging for the sale of camels for the Hâj. The tribe make about £1,500 a year by selling or hiring camels for the pilgrimage to Mecca; the Beni Sakr tribe seem to have almost the monopoly in this trade. While at Bosra the government on some plea took Fendy prisoner; his son at once got together a band of Arabs and came to the rescue of his father. The first shot fired by the escort guarding Fendy killed his son; this seems to have ended the affray. There was some fear that this would be a cause of feud between the tribe and the government, but Fendy is reported to have said on the occasion, "My son and I were servants of the Sultan, now he has one less," which is taken to mean he does not intend making a feud of it. I got back to my tent late.

On the 3rd I sent the two non-commissioned officers to Lebban with a party to go on with the revision of that district. I stayed at Nablus owing to a telegram from the consul-general asking me to wait and see what steps the Vali of Syria would take in the matter of Jacob's Well. I rode out and examined the fine site of El 'Ormah, south-east

of Nablus. The position was very grand, standing high above the surrounding hills; from a distance the castle seems almost inaccessible; by approaching it from the west, however, a narrow tongue of land leads to within a little of the top. A stiff climb along rock terraces and over scarped rocks leads to the plateau on the top on which the castle was situated. The foundations of two square towers of large drafted masonry, similar to Crusading work, still guard the southern entrance; these and some cisterns and ruined houses are all that now remain; the whole area of the plateau would be about three-quarters of an acre. The rock was scarped perpendicularly on the west side; on the east and north sides the hill descended very steeply about 500 ft. to a valley; on the south a very narrow ridge led to another small round hilltop, slightly lower than the fortress, which was equally inaccessible. The place must have been one of great strength; the remains still existing do not seem to date from a period previous to the times of the Crusaders.

I returned by the village of Awertah, which is very pleasantly situated amongst olive-groves, and well supplied with water. It is famous for the tomb of Eleazar (el 'Azeir), which is held in high veneration by the Mohammedans, Jews, and Samaritans. I had to search for the tomb of Phinehas; but, though there are three other sacred places, the inhabitants knew nothing of Phinehas. The three others are Sheikh el Mansury, Neby el Mefuddil, and el 'Azeirât, and in each there are Samaritan inscriptions. In Neby el Mefuddil the inscription is plastered up. The people are very obliging, and all the sacred places are kept in excellent repair. A Samaritan told me that Sh. el Mansury was the tomb of Phinehas according to their records, but it seems more probable from the positions on the ground that el 'Azeirât, which corresponds with el 'Azeir, should be the site. The place is evidently very ancient; there are many rock-cut tombs, wine-presses, cisterns, and a fine spring of water. The people told me that el 'Azeir was a very great Neby next to Mohammed, and that he had even lived before the Prophet of God.

As I found, on my return to camp, that the government intended still to raise objections, though they had received a pressing telegram from the Vali, I determined to move next day to Beitin. Telegraphic communication at Nablus is in a curious state, no telegrams being considered private. The Greek bishop often brought me copies of telegrams received by the government, and I am quite convinced the authorities received copies of mine probably before they were forwarded. To frustrate this I sent some of mine round by Jerusalem. Next day I moved camp to Beitin, as nothing official had arrived in the twenty-four hours. My non-commissioned officers were there before me. From this camp a large tract of country was revised.

Corporal Brophy having reported some inscriptions and carved stones at Jifna, I rode there next day. The inscriptions are on a small modern bridge, and are in modern Greek and Arabic, stating the bridge to have been built by the head of the convent.

Let into the wall of the Greek church there is a very beautifully

carved sarcophagus in perfect preservation. It is very rare in this country to find figures unmutilated, but in this case the sarcophagus was found on Greek ground, and the village being Christian, it has escaped. The work and finish is very fine: four small angles support a wreath hanging in festoons; in the centre of each compartment thus formed above the wreath is a cherub's head; the expression on the faces is very beautiful; the whole is cut in white marble. There is a great difference between this sarcophagus and those described by Major Wilson at Kades, of which two remarkably well-preserved specimens may be seen at Kh. Shelabûn. The work is much smaller and finer, and I should think of a later date.

Next day I moved camp to Beit Ur et Tâhta, every one revising on the road, as usual when we moved camp.

The following day I rode down the great valley that witnessed the flight and pursuit of the Philistines by Joshua on that day that was like no other. After visiting Beit Nuba and Yalo I returned by Beit Sira, and met a bridal party. Our village had arranged to give a bride to a man of Bîr Main in exchange for one of equal beauty and wealth for one of their sons. Both brides started at a given time from their villages, accompanied by all the women in their gayest attire, and escorted by mounted men galloping frantically about performing "fantasia," as they call it. The brides were veiled and so muffled up that they could hardly move. The women kept up a chant the whole way. When the two processions came within sight of each other they halted, and the brides were dragged off their horses and took leave of their friends with a good deal of lamentation. They were then mounted again, and two men led the horses alone to the opposite party; the men changed horses midway, and brought back the new brides. They were at once received with great joy, and had to dismount again to receive the congratulations of their new friends. Both parties then returned with a good deal of shouting and firing off of old rusty guns. In the evening the shouting and noise in the village was kept up to a late hour.

The following day I sent the non-commissioned officers to make special plans of the White Mosque at Ramleh and the reservoir of St. Helena. I rode to Jaffa revising, and slept there; the ground was very deep in the plain, owing to the rains, and great care had to be taken. Our horses were frequently up to their girths in the soft ground.

I was astonished to learn at Jaffa that the French steamer would arrive on the 23rd instead of the 29th, as I had expected and calculated for. It was extremely important that the non-commissioned officers should go home by that steamer, as otherwise they would have to wait a fortnight for the next. I rode from Jaffa to Arsuf to examine the castle, while the non-commissioned officers made a special plan of Râs el Ain and revised the country round. The castle at Arsûf is very like Ascalon in the style of its masonry and the excellence of the cement employed. In places where the stones are weathered away, the cement remains. It was almost impossible to break off a piece. In other

places the pointing remains as fresh as when the masons left it. The castle was built on a bad foundation of very soft rock, on the seaside; this has been worn away, and the walls have slid down bodily. They are naturally cracked and broken, but immense portions of the walls have rolled down from a great height without breaking up. In some parts the walls look as if they had been built on sloping scarps, so perfectly have they slid from their high position. A quantity of green sulphate of copper is scattered about attached to rocks in crystals. I had to leave early, as it was necessary to get back to camp at Lidd that evening. Next morning I sent Corporal Brophy up to Jerusalem to get on with the packing up, and moved camp to Deir Aban. I visited Mr. Bergheim's farm at Abu Shusheh, and found the position of 'Ain et Tamuir. It is now applied to a spot on the hill side, where the ain is said to commence. The water is carried from this spot in an aqueduct underground to the present 'Ain el Yerdeh, lower down. This theory is carried out by the discovery, when the men were cleaning out 'Ain el Yerdeh, that the water came into the well from an aqueduct. After examining the country round, I rode to Amwas to see the church. I entered the mosque and measured it up. On coming out I found a throng of people, who said it was a most sacred place, being the tomb of Sheik Obeid. I apologised for going in with my shoes on. The people were extremely civil and obliging, and though I had a Turkish soldier with me, they expressed their longing that England would take the country and give them the benefits of a just government. Nothing I could say would induce them to believe that England had no intention of doing anything of the sort. There had been a wedding that day, and as the bridegroom has to stand a certain amount of powder for fantasia on these occasions, the young men very sensibly determined to use it for firing at marks, instead of throwing it away uselessly. They made some very good practice. At a certain time they all formed in line in front of the mosque, with the old sheikh in front, and went through their devotions together. They were very fervent in their prayers that God would give victory to the Sultan and confound the Muscovites. I then visited the remains of the magnificent church. The stones are very large, and the church, in my opinion, is older than the Crusading times, very probably dating from the fifth century.

I next visited the fine remains of the Crusading castle at Latron; it must have been an important place, and is still in very fair preservation. I had no time to make a plan of the remains. Pushing on for Deir Aban I soon caught Corporal Sutherland, who had been revising in another direction; his horse was evidently very ill, and as Corporal Sutherland had a very bad foot I had to lead it all the way, about six miles, to Deir Aban. We got in some time after dark; the horse was very bad on the road, and though everything was done he died a quarter of an hour after getting into camp. It was sad he could not last another day, as that would have finished his work.

Next day we marched into Jerusalem. I visited Beit Atah and Ellar

et Táhta, making inquiries about Azekah, but could hear of no such place except Ez Zak near Khuweilfeh, and Kh. Habeik, both well-known places.

I came round by Solomon's Pools and the Bethlehem road revising, while Corporal Sutherland took a straighter course; Corporal Brophy revised the road on his way up from Lidd. The revision of 1,700 square miles was therefore completed on the 17th November. We had some very bad weather during the month—six days may be characterised by continuous rain—but the work was carried on the same and no day was lost. Packing up and arranging for the sale of the horses took two days. The men left on the 22nd and sailed next morning with all the luggage. I made some final arrangements and sailed myself for Constantinople on the 26th.

The work done from the end of February to the end of November, nine months, has been 1,340 square miles of country triangulated and surveyed, every ruin examined, and special reports on all villages and water supply; the line of levels between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee completed, 1,700 square miles of country revised, 3,850 names collected and 816 ruins examined and described, 29 special plans and 19 photographs, besides notes on all archæological and geological points of interest in the country gone over.

H. H. Kitchener, Lieut. R.E.

ITINERARIES OF OUR LORD.—CANA OF GALILEE.

St. James's Terrace, Regent's Park,
March 30th, 1878.

In trying to lay down the routes by which our Lord made his journeys, nothing is more important than to fix, if possible, disputed sites. A place identified becomes a fixed point, from which other lines may be pushed out. Happily, a few of the more important places—Nazareth, Bethlehem, Bethany, Mount Olivet, Jerusalem, and Jacob's Well—have never been the sport of theorists. But this good fortune has not attended Cana, Bethsaida, Capernaum, and Bethabara. If all these places could be fixed beyond dispute, much would be done towards framing an outline for the Itineraries. In the following notes I venture to submit the case in favour of Cana, and to ask for a verdict on the evidence adduced in favour of the historic site, against the theorists.

Where was this sacred place?

All the native Churches, whether Greek or Latin, Coptic, Nestorian, or Armenian, reply that Cana of the marriage feast lay at Kefr Kana, on the road from Nazareth to Capernaum. Kefr Kana means Village of Cana. Till the days of Robinson there had been no dispute about the locality. Cana was a common name in Palestine, very much like

Ashton in England, Steinberg in Germany, San Lucar in Spain. There was a Cana in Judæa, a second Cana near Mount Tabor, a third Cana near Tyre. There may have been more. Villages of this name rose and perished without a record. One such village flourished in a recent period at a spot some six miles north of Sephoris, and is now called Khurbet Kana, Ruins of Cana. An ignorant Frank confused the new Cana north of Sephoris with the old Cana north-east of Nazareth; but the false suggestion died with the ignorant Frank who made it. Quaresmius, hearing of the suggestion, put an end to it by simple statement of the facts. Robinson revived the doubt.

On going up the hill of Nazareth with his Arab servant, Abu Nâsir, to get a view of the country, Robinson heard of that dead Cana, lying beyond Sephoris. The name was new to him, and the spot indicated was a desert place. Abu Nâsir spoke of it as Kânâ el-Jelil—Cana of Galilee. Robinson adopted the ridiculous heresy which Quaresmius fancied he had crushed. Robinson thought he had caught the monks at their tricks. The real Cana lay out of their way, and they changed the site for their own convenience. Abu Nâsir's word was enough. "The name is identical. . . . On this single ground, therefore, we should be authorised to reject the present monastic position of Cana." When Robinson had made up his mind he found plenty of texts to support his theories—found them by the easy process of misreading and false translation. He never went to see the spot! The place was called Khurbet Kana, Ruins of Cana; but he never asked whether the ruins were new or old—the waste of an Arab village later than the Crusades, or a Syrian hamlet earlier than the birth of Christ. Enough for him that Abu Nâsir called it Kânâ el-Jelil; Abu Nâsir's word outweighed for him the authority of all the native Churches.

This story sounds like farce; and yet, since Robinson's time, Khurbet Kana has for many persons usurped the place of the genuine Cana of Galilee. Karl Ritter adopted Robinson's mistake, and his authority has led to the insertion of his blunder in many maps. A note to the last edition of Ritter's work affords the means of correction; but several map-makers were misled before that correction came; see Chambers's map of Palestine, Hughes's map of Syria, Bædeker's "Galilee," and (I am sorry to add) Murray's far more valuable map of the Holy Land. Let us scan the evidence of fact.

I.—Evidence of Name.

Kefr Kana (Village of Cana) and Khurbet Kana (Ruins of Cana) are places in the same district of Galilee, hardly a dozen miles apart. In Greek their names are identical—they are both called Κανά; in our English form Cana. To distinguish either of them from Cana in Judæa it was necessary to add the words "in Galilee" or "of Galilee," as we, in speaking of our northern Richmond, should add "in Yorkshire" to distinguish it from the better known town near London. Robinson's first mistake arose from treating the form "Cana of Galilee" as a proper

name. His whole theory rests on this foundation. "Cana of Galilee," he argues, is the name of a place mentioned by St. John; "Kânâ el-Jelîl" is the name of a place mentioned by Abu Nâsir. They must be one and the same. Such is his process—such his proof.

But was "Cana of Galilee" a proper name? Some names of towns are compound, the words wedded and inseparable, like Civita-Castellana, Boulogne-sur-Mer, and Ashton-under-Lyne. Is "Cana of Galilee" such a compound name? If not, Robinson's theory is untenable—his inference unsound.

On this point there is not much room for philological mistake. Cana is mentioned by two authors, and no more. They mention it by the same name, and with very nearly the same descriptive adjunct. These authors are Josephus and St. John. The name is only known in the Greek form Κανά, to which the English form Cana corresponds with perfect accuracy. No Hebrew, Chaldee, or Aramaic form of the word is known. All modern forms, whether Arabic or Frankish, are derived from the Greek word, and must be carried back to it in case of variance. Robinson saw an argument in favour of his heresy in the fact that some modern Arabs have rendered the Greek word Κανά by two Arabic forms, Kana and Kenna. So he used the form Kana in reference to Khurbet Kana, Kenna in reference to Kefr Kana. There is no ground for such a distinction. Kana and Kenna come from Cana and return into Cana. Such variations as occur in the name of Cana belong to modern Arabic, not to ancient Greek.

Josephus and St. John knew Cana well. While Josephus held his command in Galilee, he lived at Cana; a convenient post from which he could watch Sephoris on one side and Tiberias on the other side. Cana figures in the narrative of his life on at least one very important occasion—that of his night-march on the capital of Lower Galilee. Josephus calls the place in which he lived and from which he started "a village in Galilee called Cana." Nothing in his text suggests that the place was called "Cana of Galilee," as Robinson imagines it to have been called. St. John knew Cana as well as Josephus. He was at the marriage feast. Cana was the home of Nathaniel, his fellow-disciple, and was only a few miles from his own house at Capernaum. He calls the place Cana of Galilee. The name occurs twice in the fourth Gospel —in the second chapter, and in the twenty-first chapter. Our translators render the first passage Cana of Galilee, and the second Cana in Galilee. The texts of Josephus and St. John leave no doubt that Cana is a proper name; Cana of Galilee, or Cana in Galilee, a descriptive phrase. Josephus says "a village of Galilee called Cana," as we should say "a village in Kent called Sevenoaks." He never mentions his dwelling-place as a village called "Cana of Galilee." There being more than one Cana in Palestine, as there is more than one Richmond in England, like causes produced like use of language. A Yorkshire writer mentioning Richmond would describe it as Richmond in Yorkshire, not because "Richmond in Yorkshire" is a proper name, but

because he might otherwise run some risk of being thought to mean Richmond in Surrey. John uses the form Cana of Galilee in order that his ordinary readers may not confuse the scene of the marriage feast with the better known Cana in Judæa. Cana in Judæa had in the days of St. John a fame like that of Sedan in our own days. There Antiochus had given battle to the Arabs. There he had fallen, and his whole army had been destroyed. A Jew writing in those times of "Cana" would be understood to mean Cana in Judæa, the scene of that great disaster to the Jewish arms. Hence, for the sake of clearness, both Josephus and St. John added the name of the province in which his Cana lay—the first saying, simply, a village of Galilee called Cana; the second, no less simply, Cana of Galilee.

When the notion of "Cana in Galilee" being a proper name is set aside, it is waste of time to seek a modern equivalent in Arabic for that unknown form. If any place is now called Kâná el-Jelil—Cana of Galilee—the place is likely to be modern, and the name a mistake. Kefr Kana is an exact Arabic rendering of the Greek words used by Josephus—Village of Cana; so that the whole argument from philology is in favour of the native Churches.

II.—Evidence of Site.

Cana (Kefr Kana) is five English miles from Nazareth, in a north-eastern line, on the present main road to Tiberias and the lake district. Sefurieh (old Greek colony of Sephoris) stands north-west of Kefr Kana, on the road to Acre, the city called in the time of our Lord, Ptolemais. Sephoris was a walled city, and the Roman road passed through its streets.

The heap of ruins now called Khurbet Kana lies five miles due north of Sephoris, which walled city cut it off from the whole region in which the Teacher lived. Khurbet Kana is *not* on the road from Nazareth to Capernaum. A man coming up from Capernaum to Nazareth, as in the Gospel, could not have come near the spot now called Khurbet Kana. That spot lay on the road from Sephoris to Ptolemais, not on the road from Sephoris to Tiberias. A man coming up from Blackwall to Highgate does not pass through Harrow.

In the time of St. John, Cana was a station at the crossing of two roads; a country road used by Hebrew herdsmen and peasants, and an imperial road used by Roman and other strangers—a fact which gave it value from a military point of view. The country road led from Nazareth, and other open towns and villages, through Cana, to Magdala, Capernaum, Bethsaida, and other water-places on the lake. The Roman road ran from Acre (then Ptolemais) to Sephoris, the old Greek capital of Upper Galilee, and thence through Cana to Tiberias, the new Roman capital of Lower Galilee. Thus, Cana was a station on the road between Sephoris and Tiberias, very much as Rochester is a station on the road from London to Dover.

Keeping this position on the map in mind, turn to the several texts

in which Cana is mentioned. Jesus, coming up from the lake country with his disciples, met his mother at Cana (St. John ii. 2). From Cana He goes "down to Capernaum" (ii. 12). The expressions show that Cana stood on the ledge of the hill country, above the lake, and on the road from Bethsaida and Capernaum to Nazareth. The words could not apply to a place standing six miles beyond Sephoris, on the way to Ptolemais. Again, the nobleman of Capernaum, coming to seek Jesus, finds Him in Cana. "Come *down*, ere my child die," says the father. On being assured that his son lived, the nobleman went down. "As he was now going down, his servents met him." A journey from the spot now called Khurbet Kana could not be described as "going down;" for the road first leads up to Sephoris, the capital, and then through a rough sort of table-land as far as Cana; and it is only from this point that the road begins to drop down. Every word in the Gospel narrative implies that Cana stood near the ledge of the hill country over the lake.

Next turn to Josephus. Happily for us, Josephus had a good deal to do with Cana. Sent from Jerusalem into Galilee, as a delegate of the Sanhedrin, he first went to Sephoris, capital of Upper Galilee, where he found the people excited but at peace. He next went to Tiberias, capital of Lower Galilee, where he found the people in revolt. Josephus raised a large body of men, fortified several strong places, including Mount Tabor, and in a short time became master of the whole province. He saw a good deal of fighting. Twice he had to storm Sephoris; four times he had to storm Tiberias. These populous cities had to be sternly watched. In order to keep effective watch over both, Josephus fixed his camp at Cana, a position in the hill country between the two capitals. When John of Gischala induced the Jews of Tiberias to rise against Silas, Josephus says he left Cana with 200 men, made a night-march down the hills, and came before Tiberias early in the morning. That night-march was possible from Kefr Kana: impossible from the place now marked as Khurbet Kana. The distance from Kefr Kana to Tiberias is about ten miles; and a night march means, in the language of Josephus, a march from midnight watch to morning watch, a period of five hours. Everyone who has walked in Palestine knows that ten miles down-hill are not easily done in less time than five hours. If the camp of Josephus had been at the spot now called Khurbet Kana, the Jewish captain could not have made his secret night-march at all; since he would have had to pass through Sephoris, a walled city, with her gates closed and her sentinels on guard.

The whole argument derived from site is therefore in favour of the native Churches.

III.—Evidence of Remains.

The evidence of existing remains is no less strong than that of name and site. Kefr Kana is an old place and a prosperous place; Khurbet

Kana is a new place and a deserted place. At Kefr Kana there are remains of ancient edifices; at Khurbet Kana, though the buildings are in ruins, there is nothing older than late Saracenic times, even if the broken tanks and cisterns belong to Saracenic times at all.

No one can look at Kefr Kana without a strong conviction that the place is old. Here is a house old enough to pass for that of St. Bartholomew. Here are the foundations of an early church and monastery. The church, built in honour of the miracle, was standing in Cana before the Moslems established their power in Galilee. St. Willibald prayed in that church, then dedicated to the Ruler of the Feast. "A large church stands here," said the English saint in 721. Four hundred years later—that is to say, in 1102—another English pilgrim, Sæwulf, saw that monastic edifice. Five hundred years after Sæwulf, Quaresmius mentioned the monastery. To-day the ruins of that early Christian edifice may be seen. This sort of evidence is, for ordinary men, decisive. Syrian Christians build a church and monastery at Cana, in honour of the marriage feast. Various pilgrims from the western countries see that shrine from time to time during a period of 900 years. The foundations of these buildings are now in site.

Are there any remains of ancient buildings at the other Kana? None at all. The village is a heap of rubbish; but the dust and ashes are new—not old. No house there is old enough to be shown as that of St. Bartholomew. There are no foundations of church or convent. All the dwellings are small and mean. The shards of pottery are not of ancient form or colour. Here and there you come on a tank or cistern of later date; but these are seemingly of Arabic construction. The stones used in building are small, and of a modern pattern. Jackals prowl in the ruins, and wild boars grub among the tanks, while the hills around are barren and the plains in front are desert waste. No vestige of an antique world is seen. In truth, from the mere evidence of remains, a traveller without a theory to support would say that Khurbet Kana was a modern village which had sprung up round a potter's field and furnace, and had perished with the trade that gave it birth.

On the other hand, the house of St. Bartholomew and the monastic ruins prove the antiquity of the true Cana; so that from the evidence of existing remains a traveller, without a theory to support, would have no difficulty in identifying Kefr Kana with the Cana of Josephus and St. John.

IV.—Evidence of History.

The evidence of history, as regards Cana of the marriage feast, is a chain in which there is no missing link. St. Willibald, visiting Galilee in 722, started from Nazareth on his way to Cana. His route lay eastward, not northward—that is, toward Kefr Kana, not toward the place now called Khurbet Kana. He took Cana on his way from Nazareth to Mount Tabor. "He stayed at Cana one day, and then continued

his journey to Mount Tabor." Khurbet Kana lies in the opposite direction. Sæwulf, who went to Galilee in 1102, is even more precise. "Six miles to the north-east of Nazareth, on a hill, is Cana of Galilee, where our Lord converted the water into wine." Sæwulf uses the Roman mile of 1,614 yards; and his guess of "six miles" is near the actual truth. If our knowledge of the site of Cana had perished as completely as that of Bethsaida or that of Chorazin has perished, the bearings and distances supplied by Sæwulf would enable us to lay it down correctly on a map. When Sæwulf was in Galilee, Cana had been partly but not wholly destroyed. "Nothing is left standing," he says, "except the convent called after the Ruler of the Feast"—Holy Architriclinius. Later in the twelfth century, Phocas, following in the track of Sæwulf, from Acre to Nazareth, describes the points of his journey. Leaving Acre, Phocas comes—first to Sephoris, next to Cana, and then to Nazareth. To all these witnesses, Kefr Kana was the true Cana of Galilee. The distance of Cana from Nazareth is given by Mandeville in 1322: "four miles from Nazareth." Mandeville uses the old English mile; which gives the distance of Kefr Kana pretty accurately, but not the distance of Khurbet Kana, which is fully eleven miles from Nazareth.

Robinson was not original in the mistake corrected by so many proofs. The first blunder is due to Marino Sanudo, a Venetian, who compiled a book on Palestine for the use of Crusading princes. Sanudo lived in the fourteenth century. There is no evidence that he ever visited Palestine, or that he had the use of actual itineraries in making his tract and chart. He placed his Cana to the north of Sephoris, instead of to the south-east. At that time Palestine was closed to pilgrims. Sæwulf and Phocas were the latest authorities on the subject, but their accurate observations seem to have escaped the notice of Sanudo. After Sanudo had put Cana in the wrong place on his map, a Frank pilgrim now and then fell into his error, until Father Quaresmius, a monk who lived in Palestine, took the matter up, and settled the dispute in favour of Kefr Kana.

The only passage which Robinson found in any writer previous to Sanudo that appeared (only appeared) to favour his theory, is a line in Sæwulf. "Cana," says that author, "stands six miles north-east of Nazareth." This is the true text; but Robinson, ignorant of the use of middle-age Latin, translated Sæwulf's *six miliariis ad Aquilonem*, "six miles north," instead of six miles north-east. (See Wright's Vocab., p. 16, for illustrations of the meaning of *aquilo* in the age of Sæwulf.) Contrary to the usage in classical Latin, this word, in the time of Sæwulf, was always used for the north-east wind.

Such is the evidence in favour of Kefr Kana as the true Cana "of Galilee"—identity of name; identity of site; constant record of the Syrian Churches; actual remains of antiquity; and the testimony of a succession of travellers from East and West.

W. Hepworth Dixon.

TOMBS OF THE MACCABEES.

From our camp at Lidd, I visited El Medyeh, to resolve, if possible, the much disputed site of the graves of the Maccabees. I first visited Sheikh el Gharbawy, which M. Ganneau has proved not to be the site. There are a good many tombs in the neighbourhood, some of which are called Kabr el Yahûd, tombs of the Jews, but a deep valley separates them from Medyeh, and the sea cannot be seen from immediately above. I next crossed the ravine and visited the village, which is evidently an old site. To the south of the village and close to it there is a round hill, flat on the top, which has almost an artificial appearance; it is called er Râs. From this hill a good view of the sea is obtained. On the top I found one rock-cut tomb, which had been turned into a cistern; there are many cisterns, and some other cuttings in the rock which might prove to be tombs if they were cleared out. A Mohammedan holy place, el Arbain, now occupies the top. I have no doubt in my own mind that this was the site of the tombs of those celebrated heroes of later Jewish history. The hill is a very prominent feature, and appears to me to fulfil all the requisites of this very important and much disputed site. A little farther on I took refuge from a storm in a curious rock-cut cavern, el Habis. A large face of rock has been scarped perpendicularly, leaving an overhanging ledge at one end. This ledge projects considerably, and is supported by rough square blocks cut out of the rock and left when the rest was excavated. High up in the face of the rock a small hole gives access to a gallery running in a circular direction. Ledges along the sides in alcoves seem to have been intended for sarcophagi. I have little doubt that this was once a spacious tomb, and that the overhanging ledge supported by square columns ran the whole length of the scarped rock —some 50 yards.

H. H. K.

SITE OF AI.

From our camp at Beitin I found, in the course of the revision, that the name of Kh. Haiy was well known at Deir Diwân, but on talking to the natives I heard of another Kh. Haiy, which seemed to me nearer to Ai. Having secured a guide who knew the place, he led me to a ruin about one mile south-east of Mukhmâs and north of Wâdy Suweinit. It appears to have been an old and important place. The ruins have escaped previous observation owing to being hidden away behind a small rising ground.

It is extraordinary how the name of Haiy, or something like it, clings to this region. First there is Kh. Haiyân close to Deir Diwân, then there is a Kh. Haiyeh south of Wâdy Suweinit, and now there is a third

Kh. Haiy one mile east of Mukhmâs; thus we have three ruins having the name of Ai in a space of about two square miles.

Kh. Haiyan has been suggested by M. Ganneau for Ai, and I would point out that, if Deir Diwân be Bethaven, as suggested by the Rev. W. F. Birch, this site is most certainly beside it, as mentioned in Joshua vii. 2. Looking at the position on the ground, Kh. Haiyan appears to have been only the site of the graves and cisterns of Deir Diwân, and may have been, as the natives say, the former site of that town. As a strong place of ancient times it is hardly suitable, and the difficulties of the position of et Tell are still prominent at Kh. Haiyan. It also seems difficult to see how the people of Bethaven took no part in the fight, and how their town was not taken with Ai. Kh. Haiyeh, south of Wâdy Suweinît, is evidently not Ai.

The third Kh. Haiy has, however, some claims to consideration. Situated one mile south-east of Mukhmâs, on the ancient road leading up from Jericho into the interior, it would be naturally the first stronghold Joshua would have to overcome.

Dean Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 199, says: "The designation of the site of Michmash is so similar to that which is used to describe Ai as inevitably to suggest the conjecture that it was the successor, if not to its actual, at least to its general position." This deduction exactly suits the new position, hardly one mile south-east of Michmash.

Major Wilson, R.E., had identified et Tell with Ai, but there seems some difficulty in this case in accommodating 5,000 men and 30,000 men in ambush on the west of it, so that the people of Bethel, only one and a half miles distant, knew nothing about it. From Josh. viii. 17 it appears that not only the people of Ai sallied out after the Israelites when they pretended to fly, but also the people of Bethel; they therefore could have known nothing of the ambush. Also there is some difficulty in seeing how a force attacking from the east should move across an almost impracticable valley in order to attack from the north across the same ravine.

At Kh. Haiy these difficulties are cleared away. There is a plain to the north not cut off by any impassable valley and very fit for a battle-field. There is also plenty of room for the ambush to hide without being seen by the men of Bethel.

The connection between Ai and Michmash in the Bible is very close in Isa. x. 29. Here Bethel is not mentioned, as it seems natural to suppose it would have been had Ai been at et Tell, and this seems to me to point to a different site for Ai. Kh. Haiy, however, would have to be passed by the great king before the baggage was laid up at Michmash for the passage of the Wâdy Suweinît. H. H. K.

NORTHERN BOUNDARY OF PALESTINE.

THE new sheets throw much light also on the boundary between "the Land" and Phœnicia, which is minutely described in the Talmud. Thus, in *J'athûn* we recognise the G'atin of the Talmud, and in *Jelîl* the Katzra of Gelil mentioned in the same passage. The list in the Talmud, which is of no little importance, now stands as below, giving the boundary from Acre to Hermon. The general result is to draw the Phœnician boundary farther south than it is usually placed, thus agreeing with Josephus, who makes Ecdippa (*ez Zîb*) the boundary. The great valley of *Nahr Mefshûkh* forms the division, having Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5 along its course.

1.	Accho	'Akka.
2.	Gatin	J'athûn.
3.	Kabartha	el Kâbry.
4.	B. Zanita	Zuweinîta.
5.	Katzra of Gelil	Jelîl.
6.	Kubaia	
7.	Bir	Kefr Birim.
8.	Tirii	Tîreh.
9.	Tifni	Tibneh.
10.	Ailshitha	'Atshîs.
11.	Aulem	'Almân.
12.	Mejdel Kherub	el Khirbeh.
13.	Chasm of Ayun	Merj 'Ayûn.
14.	Tortagla ("Snowy Mountain")	Hermon.
15.	Kisrin	Baniâs.

Of these fourteen identifications ten are, I believe, quite new.

I would further suggest that the Beth-Baltin of the Talmud may be the present *Belatûn*.

C. R. C.

NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE Memoir is now rapidly approaching completion, and the sheets from Nazareth to Beersheba may be expected to be complete in the month of April; the Jerusalem sheet (the heaviest of all the twenty-six sheets) being now nearly finished.

The following points are worthy of notice as concluding notes from my portion of the Memoir:—

The Cities of the Negeb.—In a former report it was noted that many of these towns might be identified with places farther north than is generally supposed. Thus in the district within ten miles of Beit Jibrîn, to the south, we have *Shu'alayeh*, possibly Hazar Shual; *Jedeideh*,

perhaps Hazar Gaddah; *Umm Deimnah*, for Madmenah; and *Hazzârah* for Hazor Hadattah, or "new Hazor."

Northern Sheets.—Several valuable names have been collected also in the north, including above all the title *Hudhîreh*, a word radically identical with Hazor. This is applied to a mountain, a plain, and valley some four miles east of the position in which the Royal Hazor—said by Josephus to have been over the waters of Merom (the *Hûleh*)—has hitherto been placed. No name approaching that of Hazor has been found in this district by former travellers, but in Lieutenant Kitchener's lists the name occurs under the same form in which Robinson found it preserved in the Southern Desert at the site of another Hazor. Madon, also a royal city, which has long been sought in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee, is no doubt the ruin of *Madîn*, on the plateau west of that sea, and the neighbouring ruin of *el Aîkeh* may well represent the ancient Lakum, which is to be sought in the same district.

Diblath, a town mentioned, apparently, as in the north of Palestine (Ezek. vi. 14), may, I would suggest, be the modern *Dîbl*; and the position of Edrei (Josh. xix. 37), near Kedesh and En Hazor, seems to agree with that of the modern *Yatîr*, some three miles north-west of *Hazîreh* (En Hazor), at the edge of the high hills of Naphtali. The change of D to T is not unknown, and the modern name preserves the guttural found in the Hebrew.

Two places mentioned in the Book of Judith near Shechem do not appear, as far as I can gather, to have been recognised—viz., Esora and Chusi, which may very well be the modern *'Asîreh* and *Kuzah*, in the neighbourhood of that city.

One of the few places noticed in the Onomasticon, and not as yet fixed, was Arath, west of Jerusalem. This I would suggest is the ruin of *Harâsh*, near Kolônia.

It is also worthy of notice that the modern name of the valley of Aijalon, the site of the great defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, is *Wâdy el Mikteleh*, "the Valley of Slaughter."

In conclusion of these last notes from the Memoir, I would call attention to one more example of the archaic character of the peasant dialect. The word commonly employed for a threshing-floor is *Beiâdir*, which is a corrupt pronunciation of the proper word *Neiâdir*. But among the peasantry another word, *Jurn*, is often employed, which in ordinary Arabic means a "trough," but is in this case used in the sense of the Hebrew *Goren*, for "a threshing-floor."

C. R. C.

8th March, 1878.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AT THE KAL'AT JALUD, JERUSALEM.

7th September, 1877.

An interesting discovery has been made lately by the French monks at Jerusalem. While digging for the foundations of a new school on the site of the Kal'at Jalud, or "Goliath's Castle," they came upon four massive piers of ancient drafted masonry. A number of ruined vaults and masses of rubbish have been removed, and now the ancient work is uncovered almost down to the rock. Two of these piers were seen by Major Wilson, and were, in his opinion, of mediæval date; but the lower portions now disclosed seem to be earlier. The French monks are quite confident that they have here discovered the foundations of the tower of Psephinus.

The stones are large, measuring 8ft. 6in. by 2ft. 9in. by 2ft. 1in. high, and 7ft. 6in by 2ft. 8in. by 2ft. 4in. high. Some are rather smaller; they are all drafted, the draft varying from three to four and a half inches. The joints are carefully finished, and the courses are quite regular; the stones are fixed together by a thin layer of very hard cement. The bosses are left rough and project in some cases as much as eight inches; the stones show no signs of being weather-worn. Four courses of the ancient work remain, and they measure 9ft. 1in. in height; on the top of these courses is mediæval work for two or three courses; there are also walls of probably the same date faced with large drafted masonry. In the vaults and passages there are also considerable remains of Crusading work. I have sent you a plan which will show the form of the four piers; where the lines are dotted the walls were not visible. The enclosed photograph was given me by the French monks. It seems impossible to make an octagon out of these remains, which is necessary for the tower of Psephinus, according to Josephus. I could see no traces of ancient arches, or any clue to what these piers supported originally. As far as I was able to see, there is no reason why the piers should not have been originally joined, forming two walls running south-east and north-west; this would then have probably been an ancient city gate. The scarped rock on the north-west, on which the city wall is built, runs out almost at right angles to the line of this gate, and on the south-west there are traces of ancient work running in the same direction; thus the gate would appear to have been flanked by two towers. That on the south-west may have been Psephinus, as it would have been on the highest ground of the city.

I am glad to be able to report that the owners have modified their plans so as to preserve these interesting remains for future examination. Unfortunately an ancient corner of wall south-east of the piers had to be removed. The stones are described as larger, and the appearance was not so finished as those recently found. Major Wilson examined them while excavating in this direction.

H. H. K.

NOTE ON TARICHÆA.

NABLUS, *1st November*, 1877.

LIEUTENANT CONDER, in one of his "Notes from the Memoir," October *Quarterly*, p. 181, states:—"Tarichæa must be sought on the shore of the Sea of Galilee, thirty stadia south of Tiberias."

In the passage he quotes from Pliny no mention is made of distance.

Pliny's account of the lake in the passage quoted appears to me very difficult to understand, unless he had a very imperfect knowledge of what he was writing about. He states Julias to be on the east of the lake, whereas, from the fight Josephus had near that place, it must have been very near the entrance of the Jordan, and therefore north.

As Sennabris is now undoubtedly fixed at Kerak, it seems to me Pliny must have made another mistake with regard to Tarichæa.

Josephus lived a considerable portion of his life on the shores of the sea, and in the localities in question I think his evidence should have a prior claim to consideration. His description of Vespasian's march appears to me to give conclusive proof that Tarichæa was situated north of Tiberias, and other accounts by him make it close to the latter place.

A distance of thirty stadia south of Tiberias is, if I remember right, mentioned by him with regard to Sennabris, and answers very well to the distance between Tiberias and Kerak, as I think I pointed out in my report on that district in a former *Quarterly*.

H. H. K.

THE VEIL OF THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM AT OLYMPIA.

(*Reprinted from the "Athenæum" by permission of the Proprietors.*)

IN pursuit of the hitherto neglected question of the connection of the Phœnicians with the Peloponnese, I have been led to ascertain the existence in the province of Elis of certain facts, customs, and observances which offer a remarkable analogy with what we know of the Phœnicians, and, particularly, of the Hebrews. I confine myself in this place to a succinct enumeration of the principal points, full details of which will appear in my forthcoming work, called "Le Dieu Satrape et les Phéniciens dans le Peloponnese." (Nearly ready: E. Leroux, Rue Bonaparte, 28, Paris.)

1. The Eleans, alone in Greece, cultivated the *byssus*, a textile plant the Oriental origin of which is incontestable. Pausanias tells us that the Elean byssus was quite equal in fineness to the byssus of the "Hebrews."

2. The Eleans were forbidden, for religious reasons, to breed mules: the same interdiction existed for the Jews, as we know. It was based on a passage of Leviticus (xix. 19).

3. In Elis, near Lepreos, a city whose name is traditionally explained as derived from the leprosy which *afflicted its earliest inhabitants*, flowed a river anciently called Ἰάρδανος—the same as Jordan.

But it is especially at Olympia, the famous theatre of the Olympic games which have given Elis so considerable a place in Greece, that we are presented with points which strike us at once as resembling observances of Semitic religion.

4. Anointings with oil were practised on the celebrated statue of Olympian Zeus (to preserve the ivory, says Pausanias).

5. In the temple of Olympian Zeus were certain βωμοί, held in extreme veneration, formed by the accumulation of the ashes of victims, and exactly similar to the deposits of ashes coming from the altar of Jehovah,—deposits regarded as sacred (Leviticus i. 16, iv. 12; 1 King, xiii. 3; 2 Macc. xiii. 8).

6. The women of Elis were absolutely forbidden to penetrate into the sanctuaries of Olympia: they were not to pass beyond a certain limit. This is parallel with the Court of Women. The women of Elis were also forbidden to be present at the Olympic games and to cross the waters of the Alpheus at certain periods, the whole under pain of death. This idea of woman's constitutional impurity, this implacable penalty which sanctioned it, are traits essentially Semitic.

7. The women of Elis, thus kept apart, had ceremonies of their own, on the other hand, which seem based on those of the Phœnicians, those mourners for Adonis and for the solar Tammuz whom Ezekiel (viii. 14) shows us in the very Temple of Jehovah. "At a certain season," says Pausanias, "at the moment of the setting sun, the women of Elis went to weep round the empty sepulchre of him whom they called Achilles,"—a fabulous Achilles, an Achilles sprung from some Oriental Ἀδωνιασμός, rather than from Homeric tradition.

8. At Olympia, near the Temple of Hera, sixteen women were employed in weaving the *peplos* of the goddess, just as the women wove the sacred tents for Asherah in the Temple of Jehovah (2 Kings xxiii. 7; Ezek. xvi. 16).

9. At Olympia also was adored the singular Ζεὺς Ἀπόμυιος, whose literal prototype is found in Baalzebub, or Βααλ μυῖα of Ekron (2 Kings i. 2, 3, 16).

10. Finally, there was in the sanctuary of Olympia a great woollen veil, of Assyrian workmanship, dyed with the Phœnician purple, given by Antiochus, and executed, perhaps, on the same plan as that great veil of the Temple, of Babylonian texture, the marvels of which have been described by Josephus.

I even venture to ask whether this veil of the Olympian Temple might not have been the very veil of the Temple of Jerusalem carried off by Antiochus IV., the grand pillager of temples.

This conjecture may appear rash at first sight. There are, however, certain facts which seem to me to lend to it a high degree of probability.

The first book of Maccabees (i. 23, 24) informs us that Antiochus

took away from the holy city "the golden altar, and the candlestick of light, and all the vessels thereof, and the table of the shewbread . . . *and the veil* (τὸ καταπέτασμα) . . ." This is confirmed by Josephus, according to whom Antiochus "did not spare even the veils made of fine linen and scarlet" ("Antiq. Jud.," xii. 5. 2).

Pausanias said that Antiochus dedicated (ἀνέθηκεν) his oriental veil in the Temple of Olympia.

It was the custom to adorn temples with similar trophies.

But there is more.

Pausanias minutely explains that the παραπέτασμα, or curtain of the sanctuary of Olympia, in place of rising up to the roof as, for instance, that of the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, was dropped to the ground from above by means of ropes. He might have spared himself a good deal of trouble by stating at once that it was not a παραπέτασμα, but a καταπέτασμα (down-curtain), *i.e.*, he might have used the word always employed by Josephus and in the texts of the Maccabees to designate the Jewish veil. St. Matthew also says that the veil (καταπέτασμα) was rent, ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω.

Again, to whom did Antiochus dedicate the Temple of Jerusalem plundered and defiled by him? To *Olympian Zeus* (2 Macc. vi. 2), We need not be astonished, therefore, if he hung up the veil of the Jewish Temple in that of the Olympian Zeus. Are not always the spoils of the conquered deities consecrated to the victorious deities? (Cf. the sacred utensils of Jehovah consecrated to Chemosh by Mesha, king of Moab.)

If the veil of the Olympian and that of the Jewish Temple are identical instead of being similar, the argument which I thought to draw from an analogy to establish an affinity must be set aside. On the other hand, we obtain a result important in quite another way. There are not two objects to be compared, but two deities placed side by side.

I think the foregoing reflections are of a kind to draw special attention to the excavations now being conducted at Olympia. Should, for instance, any discovery be made bearing upon Syrian rites, religions, and antiquities, I for one should not be surprised.

C. Clermont Ganneau.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF SUCCOTH AND PENUEL.

(Reprinted from the "Athenæum" by permission of the Proprietors.)

Andover, Mass., U.S.

These places are mentioned in the Bible in connection with such men and events as to make their identification a matter of peculiar interest and importance. But before I give the facts which my recent researches have brought to light, it will be necessary to correct an error into which two Biblical scholars no less eminent than Mr. Grove in

England and Dr. Robinson in America have fallen. Burckhardt, in a passage which refers to the west bank of the Jordan, makes the statement,—"Near where we crossed, to the south, are the ruins of Sukkot." This has been misunderstood as referring to some ruin on the east of the river. But it will be noticed that after Burckhardt had crossed the river, he gives the names of all wadies, ruins, or tombs between the crossing and the Zerka or Jabbok, and among them Sukkot is not mentioned. Burckhardt did not himself visit Sukkot. In the *Leisure Hour* for 1874, p. 599, Rev. W. Wright, formerly of Damascus, appears to take it for granted that Burckhardt's Sukkot was on the east of the river. He says,—"Jerome places Succoth east of the Jordan, opposite Scythopolis, at the place where Burckhardt found its ruins." Dr. Robinson and Mr. Van de Velde visited a place on the west of the river, about ten miles south of Beisan, which they call "Sakut." This Dr. Robinson labours to identify with the Succoth of the Bible. Mr. Grove thinks this place is "entirely distinct both in name and position from that of Burckhardt," while in my judgment they are identical. But independently of these writers I can testify that in the portion of the valley opposite Beisan there are no ruins, nor, further, are there anywhere on the eastern side of the river any ruins bearing the name of Succoth or any name that might correspond to it.

As to Dr. Robinson's view, that the Biblical Succoth was on the west of the river, all the facts seem to prove the opposite. In the division of the country under Joshua, Succoth was allotted to the tribe of Gad, and hence must certainly have been on the east of the river. Jerome seems to know of a town named Succoth which was "beyond the Jordan." The Talmud in its physical divisions of Perea adopts those of the Bible, namely, "Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, Succoth, and Zaphom," which makes Succoth a district as well as a town, and fixes it on the east of the river. Again, in Gideon's pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna, it was *after* he had crossed the Jordan, going south and east, that he came to Succoth. Mr. Grove is right in saying that the "Sakut" of Robinson is too far north, and entirely out of the way of any route leading from the Jabbok to Shechem. This writer's conclusion, derived from Genesis xxxii. 30 and xxxiii. 18, that Succoth lay between Penuel (on the Jabbok) and Shechem, is correct and important, and must be borne in mind in discussing this question.

It is necessary also to remember the physical divisions which the Bible makes of the valley east of the river, and which are repeated, as I have said, in the Talmud, namely, "Beth Haram, Beth Nimrah, and Succoth." Beth Haram is the vast oasis of the Shittim plain at the north end of the Dead Sea. Beth Nimrah is the vast oasis immediately north of the Shittim plain, and which appears to be really a part of it when looked at from the neighbouring hills. From Wady Nimrin northward to the Jabbok there are no fountains or streams, and that portion of the valley is entirely desolate and barren, except during the rainy season. About the mouth of the Jabbok there is a plain of great

extent and fertility, and this is the Succoth region of the Talmud, and here, if anywhere, we are to seek for the Succoth of Jacob, and Gideon, and Jerome.

But have we any clue as to the precise locality which bore the name of Succoth? I think we have, and, further, I think that this interesting Biblical site can be identified beyond any reasonable dispute. The Talmud states definitely that in its time Succoth was called "Ter'alah," and in the great plain north of the Jabbok, about one mile from the stream, and about three miles from where the river leaves the hills, there is a large mound or tell, which bears the name of Der'ala. The letters correspond to those of the Hebrew word, except that *t* in Hebrew becomes *d* in Arabic, a change of very frequent occurrence. There are places in other sections of the country bearing the name of Der'ala, but in this case the fact of its being found in this particular locality, considered in connection with the testimony of the Talmud, is more than a coincidence. Adjoining this tell is a smaller one, a kind of shoulder, on which there are at present some ruins, with a few columns. The principal mound is so thickly covered with broken pottery that it could be raked into heaps. I picked up as I passed over the tell as many as twenty specimens of different kinds and qualities of pottery. On one side of the tell some animal had burrowed, which enabled me to examine the soil for at least four feet below the surface, and I was surprised to find that the broken pottery extended all through it. I was anxious to make some cuttings into the mound, but had neither time nor means to do so. The Bedawin living in that region have a tradition that a city existed upon that mound in ancient times. This I mention incidentally, attaching to it no special weight. Among the facts brought to light in this region during my researches is that of a ford or crossing of the Jabbok, some distance to the east of Tel Der'ala, but before the hills are reached, which bears the name of "Mashra'a Canaan," *i.e.*, Canaan's Crossing. Canaan may here be a man's name, or the name of the country, and the words may mean "the crossing which leads to Canaan." But either way this discovery is very interesting and important, because, as I shall soon show, the course of the Jabbok is the only feasible route by which the caravans of commerce and the swarms of Midianites from the east and south could reach the country of the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan.

If we examine the account of Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites, we may get some hints as to where we should look for Penuel. After their terrible midnight rout in the valley of Jezreel, a remnant escaped amounting to about 15,000 men. These were pursued by Gideon, who crossed the Jordan, and came first to Succoth and afterwards "went up thence to Penuel," asking at both places for assistance, and being each time refused. (Judges viii.) Gideon threatened to punish the men of Succoth, and with regard to Penuel he says, "I will break down this tower." These "children of the east" keep to the lowlands, plains, and the good roads. They come from the deserts of Arabia, they follow the

course of the Jabbok to the Jordan, they move up the Jordan valley till nearly opposite Beisan, and then cross and spread themselves, "like grasshoppers for multitude," over the great Esdraelon plain. After the rout just referred to they retrace their steps, hotly pursued by one of the heroes of Hebrew history. Gideon crosses the Jordan by one of the fords near Beisan, hurries down the Jordan valley as far as Succoth, and halts there to rest and refresh his weary but resolute band. The men of Succoth reason with themselves: "We live on the great army route between Canaan and the east, and it will not do for us to show a decided friendship for Gideon; for if we do, and he is unsuccessful, we shall bring upon our heads the terrible vengeance of the Midianites. Our own safety demands that we be strictly neutral. The men of Penuel, living on the same great thoroughfare, were actuated by similar motives, and likewise refused to assist Gideon.

It will be noticed from the eighth verse of the chapter just referred to that Gideon *goes up* from Succoth, evidently leaving the Jordan and turning into the mountains to the east. But we know with absolute certainty from the account of Jacob's return (Gen. xxxii.) that Penuel was somewhere on the line of the Jabbok, and hence we are justified in concluding that Gideon on this occasion followed the course of that stream.

The impression that I get from reading this eighth chapter of Judges is that Penuel was at no great distance from Succoth, although there are no certain hints to prove this beyond dispute. The points that have been hitherto established with certainty are, 1, that Penuel is on the line of the Jabbok, and 2, that below Penuel, near where the stream leaves the hills, there is a ford called "Canaan's Crossing." It is also established beyond any reasonable doubt that Succoth is situated a little to the west of this crossing and north of the Jabbok. So far everything seems to corroborate Mr. Grove's conclusion noticed above, that Succoth must be somewhere between Penuel and Shechem. If Succoth is where I have placed it, it will be on the direct route between the Jabbok and Nablûs or Shechem by way of the Damia ford. But we have still an interesting hint with regard to Penuel in the life of Jeroboam. After the division of the kingdom "Jeroboam built Shechem in Mount Ephraim and dwelt therein; and went out from thence, and built Penuel" (1 Kings xii. 25). It will be remembered that Gideon in his threat to the men of Penuel says, "I will break down this tower," as if a tower or fortress were a principal feature of the place. This leads to the suggestion, which is confirmed by all the circumstances connected with the case, that Penuel was a frontier fortress, built on the great thoroughfare from the east for the purpose of repelling invasions from that quarter. When Jeroboam comes into possession of his kingdom he feels the need of a defence on that side, and hence one of his first acts is "to go out" and rebuild Penuel, which lay almost directly east from his capital; otherwise invading bands or hosts might pour down the valley of the Jabbok, cross the Jordan by the Damia ford, and

sweep up what is now called Wady Fari'a, and attack him in his royal residence. The rebuilding of Penuel was evidently of such importance to the nation as to demand the personal attention of the king, and such as to receive special mention in the annals of his reign.

In the account of Jacob's journey after he had parted with Esau it is said: "And Jacob came to Succoth, and built him an house, and made booths for his cattle" (Gen. xxxiii. 17). Even to this day the fertile fields along the mouth of the Jabbok are the favourite resort of the powerful tribes which occupy the eastern plains, for here they find abundant pasture for their numerous flocks and herds. They could not go south of the Jabbok, and very seldom do they go very far north of it; but if they desire to find pasture for their cattle they go directly to the Succoth region. The same physical conditions exist now that existed in Jacob's time, and coming from the east with his sheep, and cattle, and camels, he went at once to Succoth, where he abode perhaps for a considerable period.

I have alluded to the valley of the Jabbok as being the main thoroughfare from the eastern plains to the Land of Canaan. There is more evidence for this than perhaps would occur to the casual reader. When Gideon pursued the Midianites from Succoth up through the eastern hills on to the plains beyond, he "went up," it is said, "by the way of them that dwelt in tents"—*i.e.*, went up by the route which such people usually took; as if they were confined to one route, or had at least a favourite route by which to approach the country on the west of the Jordan. The apparently incidental circumstance which the words just quoted record did not assume in my mind the importance which it now has until I had been backwards and forwards over all that region several times, and followed the whole course of the Jabbok from its source to where it enters the Jordan. North of the Jabbok there is no other possible route until the valley of the 'Ajlûn is reached, and this is altogether out of the question is considered as a thoroughfare for the "children of the east" on their way to Canaan. South of the Jabbok again, as far as the line of the Dead Sea and Hasban, while there are difficult paths, there is no feasible route by which large caravans or any invading "host" could pass down into the Jordan valley on its way to Canaan. For various reasons I judge that the phrase "the way of those dwelling in tents" refers to a well-known route that has been followed for ages. It was not once, but often, that the swarms of Midianites and Amalekites invaded Western Palestine, and caused terrible distress in all that region.

With regard to their route it may be said: 1. That such people as are here under consideration do not, when they move in large masses with their flocks and herds, go over difficult hills if there is a better road, even if this should be somewhat longer. 2. From a thorough personal examination of the country, I think I can say with truth that neither to the north nor to the south of the Jabbok is there any other feasible route by which to enter Canaan from the plains and deserts of Arabia. 3. Along

the course of the Jabbok these people were sure of a good and easy road for themselves and their camels. 4. Here they would always be sure of grass for their flocks. 5. Here they would always be sure of abundance of water.

It is on this great thoroughfare that I suppose Penuel, a frontier tower or fortress, to have been built in the earliest times in order to repel invasions from the east. Jeroboam, as we have seen, felt the need of defence on that side, and therefore he rebuilt Penuel. This frontier fortress may have played a more important part in the history of those troublous times than we at present have any conception of. How many times the garrison was successful in repelling invasions, or how many times they must yield to superior numbers, and allow the desert hosts to sweep on to plunder their fatherland, we cannot even guess.

But can Penuel itself be located with any certainty? In my judgment the possible places that can represent Penuel are reduced to a single locality, which I will proceed to describe.

About one hour and twenty minutes, or say four miles, above Canaan's Ford or Crossing, following the course of the stream, there is one of the most singular formations in Syria. At this point the valley is quite narrow, and its walls are precipitous. In a line with the valley, the course of which is from east to west, there spring from its lowest level and rise to a height of two hundred and fifty feet *two conical hills*. One of these sugar-loaf hills is on one side of the stream, and the other is on the other side, and the stream winds about them in a peculiar manner which can only be described by a chart. The sides of these mounds are steep, and it took me fifteen minutes to reach the summit of one of them. These hills are called at present Tulul edh-Dhahab, or "Hills of Gold." The inhabitants of the region can give no account of the origin of the name. They speak of a place on the side of one of the tells from which a strong current of air issues at times, but I did not remain there long enough to investigate the matter. The prevailing stone or rock upon the tells is a yellow sandstone which one might fancy to resemble gold, and the name may have arisen from this fact. On both these tells there are extensive and ancient ruins. The one to the west is larger than the other, and has upon it more ruins; but the ruins upon the one to the east are remarkable. They consist of the ruins of buildings on the summit, and of a long wall of massive stones which runs from the summit to the foot of the mound on the southwest side. The hill at this side is so steep that it is a marvel to me how the wall could have been built. In addition to this wall there is, about half way up the mound or a little less, a great platform running along the side of the hill for several hundred feet, which is supported by a wall of great strength and solidity. In some places this wall is fifteen and twenty feet in height, and one portion of it is still quite perfect for a distance of over one hundred feet. The walls which remain have a substantial appearance, and the platform referred to was probably the foundation of a castle or fortress. Whatever the nature

of the structures once standing here may have been, they could have been built, considering the nature of the ground and the size of the stones, only at enormous expense. The work is certainly not Moslem, nor does it appear to be Roman; while the great unhewn stones would seem to classify it more properly with the ancient cyclopean work which still exists in a very few places, perhaps half a dozen, in the country east of the Jordan. This, if anywhere on the Jabbok, would be the most suitable place for a frontier fortress, and such we have reason to believe was Penuel. A fact which seems to indicate that this may have been Penuel is, that on the whole line of this great thoroughfare which followed the Jabbok there are no ruins, except ruined mills here and there, until Kalat Zerka is reached, fifty or sixty miles from the mouth of the river. At this point the Hâj road touches the Zerka, and this castle was built for the protection and convenience of the pilgrims to Mecca.

If this is Penuel, the ruins are certainly such as would justify Jeroboam in recording in his public annals the fact of his having rebuilt the place.

What I have called the "Succoth region" answers very appropriately to the "valley of Succoth" in Ps. lx. (repeated in cviii.) This psalm appears to refer to some victory, or to the wresting of some portions of the fatherland out of the hands of their enemies. Putting Succoth where there are valid reasons for locating it, the order of places is very natural—namely, "Shechem, the valley of Succoth [in the direct line towards Gilead], Gilead, and Manasseh."

With regard to the name Penuel or Peniel I am pretty well convinced, since I have been over the ground and examined the strange physical conformation there existing, that it is connected in its origin with that remarkable phenomenon. Mr. Grove has already anticipated me in referring to a similar fact occurring in another section of the country:—"The promontory of Ras es Shukah, on the coast of Syria above Beirût, was formerly called 'Theouprosopon,' *face of God*, probably a translation of Peniel, or its Phœnician equivalent" (Smith's "Bible Dictionary," article *Peniel*). An Oriental people would easily persuade themselves thas such a place as the Hills of Gold marked the site of some special manifestation of Deity, and would give it a name accordingly. And as the same name is frequently given a second time to one and the same place, the foregoing remarks can be made without invalidating or obscuring in the slightest degree the truth and beauty of that incident in the life of Jacob where the process of giving this particular name was a second time repeated.

From the ruins and summits of these strange tells, as my eye followed the course of the valley east and west, I felt that I was looking down upon the very route along which the ancient "sons of the east" passed with their camels, a wild throng from the desert, on their way to the land of Canaan, or by which they returned, either laden with plunder gathered from the Hebrews on the west of the Jordan, or, as

sometimes happened, a fugitive rabble,—the mere wreck of a host, beaten and ruined by the bravery of some Old Testament hero. Succoth and Penuel are interesting places in the geography of Palestine from their connection with Gideon, but especially because they are associated with the life of Jacob. Here at Penuel the patriarch wrestled all night with a strange messenger, and at sunrise he passed on to meet his brother. Esau came from the south along this very road, and somewhere, not far from this spot, probably, was the scene of the famous meeting and reconciliation between them. It was at Succoth that Jacob rested for a season on his way to Canaan, after his injured father-in-law and brother had been appeased, and the offending one had by them been forgiven.

SELAH MERRILL.

THE MOABITE POTTERY.

THE controversy on the genuineness of these collections has been carried on vigorously during the last quarter in the pages of the *Athenæum*. From the letters which have appeared we make, by permission of the Proprietors of the *Athenæum*, the following extracts, in the endeavour to present everything that is urged on either side as fairly as possible; but without the repetitions which have naturally found their way into the long letters written from either point of view.

I.—LETTER FROM MR. SHAPIRA.

The main arguments against the genuineness of the Moabite pottery are four, as follows:—

First, many false inscribed stones and squeezes of inscriptions had been forged in Jerusalem and Nablus, some of which came into my possession; why then should the pottery also not be forged, especially as Selim, my agent, is certainly a great rogue? For this reason I myself doubted the character of the pottery; hearing of thieves makes a man cautious, yet it does not follow every man he meets is a thief; but Prof. Koch has shown in his well-known pamphlet that the forgers of the stones could have had no hand in the pottery.

The principal forger of inscribed stones was Martin Bulus, who appears to have learned imperfectly the alphabet of the Mesa stone and some of the names found on that monument. He is an ingenious stonecutter, but an ignorant man. In his forgeries the words Jehovah, Israel, Melek Mesa, Moab, Chemosh, recur suspiciously, often with Abraham and all the patriarchs. In one case all the twelve tribes are named; in another, he brought me the squeeze of a large stone, with the words "the holy shekel" on it, in Hebrew, evidently from some coin; and in

another the inscription, AVSVSTVS HADPNNVS, by which he probably meant Augustus Hadrianus. On the other hand, I may remark that, in many hundred inscriptions which I have examined on the pottery, the words Mesa and Melek, Israel, Jehovah, and Abraham never occur, and Chemosh only twice; nor is there any evident attempt to make the inscriptions interesting to the casual reader of the letters.

Secondly, it was thought suspicious that nothing of the kind had been found before, and that the American exploring party found no specimens. I can only say to this that Dr. Almkvist and Baron Münchhausen have shown in their reports that the pottery was too carefully hidden to be found except by special excavation. The American party never went into Moab proper, and it is not likely that the Arabs would have shown the pottery to strangers accompanied by a Sheikh (Kablan) of the hostile tribe of the Adwan, considering that Mutluk would not even give a single piece to Mr. Shick, who went over with the Consul, though he was represented to have come over from me to build a water-mill which the Arabs had asked for.

Mutluk had found pottery about six years ago in digging for saltpetre, and, with a few companions, had sought for it since with great secrecy, in fear of his life. The Bedawin believe that the inscriptions are charms or directions for finding hidden treasure, and that to reveal where they are to be found should be punished by death.

Thirdly, the letters of M. Ganneau have raised an unfavourable feeling regarding the pottery. I will answer this objection shortly. M. Ganneau has never seen pottery made in Jerusalem like the Moabite; he only reports the hearsay evidence of a few wretched underlings, who contradicted themselves and one another, and were probably told by a servant or dragoman that they had better tell a tale likely to be acceptable. Attempts to get imitations from the Jerusalem potters only showed that they were unable to imitate the texture or art of the Moabite antiquities, and if Selim did attempt to forge any small objects he certainly did not succeed.

The attack made by Prof. Kautzsch is even less important (*Allge. Zeitung*, June, 1876). He begins by giving me a high character for honesty and uprightness, but argues that all my supporters rely on my critical judgment, whilst I myself did not confidently believe in the genuine character of the pottery, as I had refused to sell any more specimens till they had been proved not to be forgeries; but evidently it does not follow that because not *proved* genuine they were, therefore, in my opinion forgeries.

Again, this gentleman says he was told in Jerusalem (by Mr. Klein) that an Arab boy had told his informant that Selim had ordered pots to be made, and had engraved upon them the inscriptions after they were baked, which, he says, explains how all attempts failed to trace them to the potters, as they knew nothing of what happened after the pots left their hands. Now, not only does this theory not account for the jars with raised letters and the idols, but the professor has not even taken

the trouble to notice that the sunk inscriptions are not engraved after baking, but must have been made by impressing the clay when damp.

Still stranger is the proof of forgery which he gives, that a gentleman from Jerusalem had told him that he had heard from his Arab servant that an Arab merchant from Es Salt had said that he met a Bedawin passing over Jordan, and when he asked, "What have you got in your saddle-bag?" he answered, "Seventeen bits of pottery, which I am going to bury in the East for the Consuls to find," in which the professor recognises for certain the twelve inscribed pieces found by Pastor Weser and his party at Madeba. When the man who related this story was asked, he said it occurred in the summer of 1874. Thus we have a new natural phenomenon. The seventeen pieces buried in the summer of 1874 had increased in the course of two years *backwards* to the August of 1872, to twelve inscribed pieces and several hundred not inscribed found in Madeba, with forty-two at Diban, all the result of interring seventeen pieces only two years *later!*

Fourthly, the most important and substantial objection is on the palæographical grounds which have been relied on by English and French scholars: some letters supposed to belong to a later period are found with others thought to belong to an earlier one. Three letters especially have been suspected from their peculiar shape—namely, the *Mim*, the *Vod*, and the *Alpha*. This question is about to be treated in Schlottmann's large work soon to be published, and Prof. Koch has already partly answered the objection in his pamphlet.

I will only add that the three disputed letters are all found on the jar discovered by Dr. Almkvist, the genuine character of which cannot, of course, be disputed; and that these letters are consequently indisputably Moabitic.

But, finally, all that is said above only shows the objections to have no ground; but, as the idols and inscriptions are destined to form so important a new link in the obscure history of the habits and ritual of the nations surrounding Israel, it is only natural they should not be accepted unless positively proved genuine. I come, then, to the most important point. It has been proved by the greatest technical authorities in Europe, by Mr. Behme, the owner of the great pottery at Halle, and by one of the first technical authorities in Berlin on the subject, the Commercienrath Marsch, that the jars and idols with raised letters on them require an artist of technical skill, as the letters are not stuck on, but the soft clay cut away round them to leave them standing out—a most difficult plastic work, and requiring that the jar should be kept wet for seven or eight days until moulded. Mr. Marsch thinks that with all their modern improvements it would be impossible to make such a jar for less than seventy marks (£3 10s.), and an idol would be yet more costly. This kind of work is, according to these gentlemen, entirely new, and they cannot explain why the Moabite potters should have done their work in so difficult a manner, unless, they say, the potters wished for that holy purpose to imitate the stone idol sculptors.

In any case the Jerusalem potters or any others in the country would

not know how to do such work; and why should a forger choose so expensive a method, costing ten times what he would get for the jar? My expenses in actual price of the antiquities are often very small, the principal cost being in travelling to fetch them. The objects were also proved to be of many different styles of workmanship, and of different kinds of clay, especially those of my third collection.

The above proof seems to show that the pottery is unquestionably genuine. See the Report of the above-mentioned gentlemen (No. 40 Beilage der *Aug. Allge. Zeitung*, 1877).

The jar found by Dr. Almkvist was also examined by these gentlemen, and was found in all respects similar to those in the Berlin collection.

The above proof refers only to the raised inscriptions; fortunately some of the same jars have also impressed inscriptions made when the clay was moist, and nearly all the large idols have such double inscriptions raised in front and impressed behind. The impressed must consequently also be genuine. Other specimens which have only impressed inscriptions are found to resemble, in the peculiarities of different systems of writing from different localities, as well as in texture, those with the double inscriptions. These also are thus shown to be genuine.

II.—From M. Clermont Ganneau.

Paris, 4 *Décembre*, 1877.

Je viens de lire dans l'*Athenæum* la longue lettre de M. le baron de Münchhausen tendant à établir l'authenticité des poteries moabites. Comme mon nom s'y trouve incidemment mentionné, et qui, d'ailleurs, les conclusions de M. de Münchhausen visent incontestablement les idées que j'ai émises le premier sur cette question, et qui sont celles de la majorité des savants anglais, allemands et français, permettez-moi de répondre quelques mots—mais quelques mots seulement, car je considère, pour ma part, que c'est perdre son temps et sa peine que de revenir sans cesse sur cette affaire depuis longtemps jugée. D'autres travaux plus sérieux me réclament.

La majeure partie de la lettre de M. de Münchhausen est consacrée à exposer sa manière de voir d'après des faits déjà connus et discutés; elle ne nous apprend de ce chef rien de neuf, et il serait oiseux de recommencer *da capo*, pour l'édification personnelle de M. de Münchhausen, tout ce fastidieux morceau. Je retiens seulement de cette première partie de la lettre une indication: c'est que M. de Münchhausen avait déjà son opinion faite sur l'authenticité quand il a entrepris son excursion au pays de Moab. Je crois d'ailleurs (si je ne m'abuse ou si ma mémoire ne me trahit) que c'est précisément sous M. de Münchhausen qu'a eu lieu en 1874 la grande enquête consulaire dirigée par M. Weser, enquête *absolument officielle*, comme je l'appris non sans quelque étonnement après avoir reçu de M. Weser l'assurance positive du contraire. M. de Münchhausen ne saurait donc se présenter, je ne dis pas comme un juge impartial, mais comme un arbitre neutre. Son siege était fait depuis longtemps quand il s'est rendu en Moab.

Je n'ai jamais prétendu qu'on ne trouverait en Moab aucun monu-

ment authentique; la stèle de Mésa serait là pour donner à une aussi absurde assertion le plus éclatant des démentis. J'ai seulement affirmé, et j'affirme encore, que les poteries moabites de Berlin sont apocryphes. M. de Munchhausen aurait donc parfaitement pu découvrir dans la grotte de Sheikh Mutlak des poteries dont je serai le premier à reconnaître la "genuineness" si elles sont "genuine"; j'aurais même été disposé, jusqu'à plus ample examen, à tenir ces poteries pour authentiques; mais si, comme l'affirme M. de Münchhausen, ces poteries sont identiques à celles de Berlin, je déclare *à priori*, que pour moi, elles sont fausses. Maintenant, M. de Münchhausen, dont le dire n'est point parole d'évangile en matière d'archéologie, peut se tromper dans son *criterium*—et c'est à souhaiter dans l'intérêt même de sa découverte.

Je ne saurais discuter ici les conditions dans lesquelles cette nouvelle trouvaille aurait été faite; j'attends sur ce point le rapport technique annoncé de M. Schick, pour l'autorité de qui je professe une grande estime scientifique; en tout cas la "kind of fine grey moss" qui recouvrait le sol de la caverne, et les "ruts worked by the passage of insects" (lesquels?) sont des arguments bien faibles pour en tirer avec M. de Münchhausen la preuve que "no human hand had touched it for long periods"; il suffit d'une saison pour que la mousse pousse, et de quelques heures pour que des "insects" (p. ex. de vulgaires lombrics) se frayent un chemin dans un sol précédemment remué.

M. de Münchhausen relate en passant que le Dr. Almkvist, accompagné de Selîm, a fouillé une caverne de Moab choisie par lui seul, au hasard, et y a déterré une jarre avec inscription moabite. Si le Dr. Almkvist n'a réellement obéi à aucune suggestion, directe ou indirecte, de son compagnon éminemment suspect, s'il n'a pas été victime de ce tour de passe-passe, que nous appelons en français la *carte forcée*, on ne peut qu'admirer cette bonne fortune qui du premier coup, sur un point pris au hasard dans le pays de Moab, le fait tomber précisément sur une de ces jarres épigraphiques qu'il était allé y chercher! Je ne connais d'ailleurs ni la relation du Dr. Almkvist, ni le monument qu'il a rapporté; je m'abstiens donc de tout autre commentaire, mais je réclame le droit de rester, jusqu'à nouvel ordre, dans mon scepticisme.

Je me permettrai, en terminant, de demander à M. de Münchhausen pourquoi le Museum de Berlin n'a pas cru devoir acquérir les suites de la collection si intéressante de M. Shapira, pourquoi l'on a renoncé à exposer et à publier les monuments déjà acquis. Si les arguments de M. de Münchhausen possèdent réellement la valeur qu'il leur prête, il semble que le premier effet qu'ils doivent avoir c'est de convaincre ses propres compatriotes.

III.—From M. Clermont Ganneau.

Paris, 16 *Décembre*, 1877.

Je viens de lire l'article de M. Shapira dans le nombre de l'*Athenæum* du 15 courant. Ce long plaidoyer *pro domo sua*, fruit naturel et attendu

de la lettre de M. de Münchhausen, ne contient aucun élément nouveau d'information pour ceux qui sont au courant de la question.

M. Shapira affecte de faire porter le débat sur des points qui sont hors de conteste, et qui lui offrent l'occasion de triompher à peu de frais d'objections imaginaires. Il néglige en revanche de répondre aux arguments les plus directs et les plus catégoriques. Ainsi, par exemple, je n'ai jamais, pour ma part, attribué la fabrication des poteries moabites au lapicide Martin Boulos; je sais, je savais et j'ai publié, bien avant que M. Shapira ne le sût et ne le publiât, ce dont ce concurrent de Selîm était capable; Martin Boulos a fait, en effet, ses premières armes sur la stèle du Temple que j'avais découverte et qu'il avait travaillé, pour mon compte, à dégager du mur où elle était encastrée.

Les essais infructueux tentés pour faire fabriquer à certains potiers de Jérusalem des poteries analogues à celles de M. Shapira, ne sont pas de mon fait; je n'ai jamais eu recours à ce moyen puéril qui devait nécessairement échouer, parceque ceux qui ont eu la naïveté d'y recourir; ne s'adressaient pas aux véritables fabricants, en s'adressant aux potiers arabes.

M. Shapira crie victoire parcequ'il croit devoir tirer des trouvailles de MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen la preuve qu'il est possible de découvrir dans le pays de Moab des monuments épigraphiques authentiques; mais —qu'il me permette de le lui dire—c'est encore ce qu'on appelle enfoncer une porte ouverte: cette possibilité n'a jamais été mise en doute, et il est plus que superflu de l'établir. Les trouvailles de MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen, fussent-elles à l'abri de tout soupçon—et nous avons vu qu'il était loin d'en être ainsi—ne prouveraient absolument rien pour l'authenticité des séries actuellement à Berlin ou entre les mains de M. Shapira.

En effet, ou les objets recueillis par MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen ne ressemblent pas aux poteries contestées, et alors ils ne peuvent être invoqués en leur faveur; ou bien, au contraire, ils leur ressemblent, et alors ils tombent sous le coup des graves accusations dont leurs sœurs n'ont encore pu se faire décharger par aucun tribunal sérieux. Ces objets, déterrés par MM. Almkvist et de Münchhausen, soit en compagnie de Selîm, soit dans une caverne de Cheykh Mutlak (l'un des ex-comparses de Selîm), appartiennent par leur aspect—d'après ce que nous apprennent ces messieurs eux-mêmes—à cette famille plus que suspecte. Tant pis pour ces objets! Ils partageront le sort commun.

En un mot M. Shapira raisonne à peu près ainsi:

"Les premières poteries sont les congénères des nouvelles poteries; or les nouvelles sont authentiques (?), donc les premières sont également authentiques.

On me laissera libre, j'espère, de retourner ce raisonnement arbitraire et de dire:

Les nouvelles poteries sont les congénères des premières poteries; or les premières sont apocryphes, donc les nouvelles sont également apocryphes.

C'est un peu la fameuse histoire du prisonnier:

"Mon capitaine! j'ai fait un prisonnier!—Eh! bien, amène-le!—Je ne peux pas! il m'emmène!"

IV.—From Major Wilson, R.E.

December, 1877.

I have hitherto taken no part in the discussion as to the genuineness or otherwise of the so-called Moabite pottery, nor do I wish to do so now, but the letter of Freiherr von Münchhausen, in your issue of the 1st inst., which I have only just seen, seems to call for some remark. The letter is avowedly written for publication, and, as it were, officially recognises the genuineness of the pottery. There are, however, two or three points which have never been satisfactorily cleared up, and I still hesitate to believe in the pottery. No inscribed pottery, or images of any kind, that I am aware of, were found in Moab before the discovery of the Moabite stone, of which Selim is known to have made a copy, opened up visions of untold wealth to the hungry eyes of the Bedawin sheikhs. The visits of Messrs. Shapira, Weser, and Münchhausen to Moab have been hurriedly made for the purpose of digging up pottery, or proving that pottery could be dug up. On the other hand, Prof. Palmer and Mr. Drake heard of no pottery during their stay in Moab, and the members of the expeditions sent by the American Palestine Society, who passed not days but weeks in Moab, have been similarly unfortunate. Is it likely that the scientific officers of the American expeditions, in daily communication with the Bedawin, would have allowed articles of such extreme interest, if genuine, to have been unearthed only by gentlemen from Jerusalem?

In one respect Fr. von Münchhausen's letter is likely to create a false impression as to the conclusions arrived at by the late Mr. Drake. Mr. Drake, it is true, at first believed, though doubtingly, in the genuineness of the pottery, but he was at last quite convinced that the greater number of the pieces, including all those with inscriptions, were forgeries. (See *Quarterly Statement of P. E. F.*, April, 1874, p. 119.)

I may add, that after carefully reading the German Consul-General's letter, I can quite conceive that he was deceived by the Bedawin.

V.—From the "Athenæum."

The latest event in the history of the "Moabite" pottery is the arrival in England of two idols recently brought home by Lieut. Kitchener. These were procured in Jerusalem, and their manufacture has been traced by Lieut. Kitchener to the renowned Selim el Kari. He has also ascertained that similar pottery may be obtained at a low price from the same source. The two specimens have been seen by Baron Münchhausen and others in Jerusalem, and are regarded as identical with the idols of the Shapira collection. One of them is a truncated figure in hollow pottery.

the front of which is covered with the familiar letters, not inscribed, but in relief; the neck is decorated with the constantly recurring seven dots, and the back is adorned with inscribed letters. The second is a hollow, circular tube, with a face. The front has the letters in relief, and the back inscribed letters. The faces resemble those of the drawings and photographs already sent home of the Shapira collection. As Mr. Shapira has very kindly offered to lend to the Committee of the Palestine Fund a small collection of his pottery, comparison will shortly be possible. Meantime Lieut. Kitchener's idols remain for the present at the office of the Fund. Any definite conclusion, from these specimens alone, as to the worthlessness of the whole would be at present premature, but it may be useful to point out that, as the case at present stands, the following facts are indisputable: (1) Two independent investigators, Messrs. Ganneau and Drake, working in ignorance of each other's movements, arrived almost simultaneously at the discovery that Selim el Kari was engaged in manufacturing sham antique pottery, and (2) Lieut. Kitchener has traced the production of his two idols to the same workshop.

VI.—From Mr. Shapira.

Jerusalem, *Jan.* 11, 1878.

It is with great satisfaction and pleasure that I announce to you that, after several years of vague rumours about Selim having fabricated "Moabitica," some specimens of his manufacture have, during my recent absence, been at last discovered. An investigation in reference to those forgeries was at once instituted by the Freiherr von Münchhausen, the Imperial German Consul for Palestine, who communicated to me a statement of the results hitherto obtained, which I would ask you to insert in your valuable paper, for the benefit of all who desire to arrive at the truth concerning the Moabite pottery.

The statement of the Freiherr von Münchhausen was accompanied by a note in German, of which I give the English translation:—

"Jerusalem, *Jan.* 9, 1878.

"Enclosed I hand you the English translation of a truthful description of an investigation concerning traces of Moabitic forgeries which I instituted during your absence, my attention having been drawn to the subject by Lieut. Kitchener's purchases. Let me add that, although Selim has, in the meantime, escaped to Alexandria, I have not failed to follow up the traces, and hope soon to be in a position to communicate to you further results.

(Signed) "Munchhausen."

Lieut. Kitchener, the chief of the last expedition sent out by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, showed me, a few days before his leaving for England in December last, some Moabitic clay idols,

bearing inscriptions, which had been secretly and in strict confidence shown to him, and which he had subsequently purchased. He could not, therefore, tell me the name of the person from whom he had bought them, but stated that not only had that person declared these idols to be forgeries, but that he had also expressed his readiness to lead him, Mr. Kitchener, to the house where the Moabitic antiquities were made, and especially that he would show him there a similar idol, made of clay, but *not yet fired*, or burnt. When I asked Mr. Kitchener, just before he left, about the results of his investigation, he told me that though he had actually had the house pointed out to him which was said to contain the unburnt idol as well as the whole factory of Moabitic antiquities, he had been unable, notwithstanding repeated efforts, to gain admission there.

The day after Mr. Kitchener had left, I discovered his informant, and the next day the house which had been pointed out to him. The former is a certain Kattan, a seemingly honest young Arab tradesman: the house is no other than that of Selim el Kary, whose name is sufficiently notorious in this controversy. Having at once procured a warrant from the Turkish police, I caused the house to be searched in the presence of one of the agents of the consulate, when the following articles were found:—1. A newly made unburnt clay idol, in a sitting posture, and more than a foot in height; 2. Four small iron chisels, which had clearly been used in the manufacture of this figure. No other pottery wares were found, nor any tools, except those mentioned, and no oven capable of being used for firing was to be seen in the whole house. These articles were confiscated by the police, and courteously placed at my disposal by the governor. The inscription on the idol's breast differs essentially in character from those of Mr. Shapira's antiquities: the letters, too, are very much smaller. They have been neatly enough inscribed—no doubt with the confiscated chisels—but they differ considerably from the usual alphabet. Besides, a number of fantastic marks are interspersed here and there among genuine letters. The figure itself is hollowed out a little at the base, but is otherwise massive and solid, and consequently very heavy, whereas the articles in Mr. Shapira's collection are mostly quite hollow and light.

When I examined Kattan and Selim el Kary at my office, I found them to agree in this, that they both stated that Selim had sold five Moabitic clay figures to Kattan, and that the latter had sold two of them to Mr. Kitchener. But with regard to the main point, viz., the origin of these articles, they contradicted each other. While Kattan asserted that Selim had declared them to be his own manufacture, Selim said, as he has often said before, that he had never imitated any Moabitic pottery at all, but that the five clay figures in question were part of a collection which had been offered two years ago to Mr. Shapira by a Bedouin, that Mr. Shapira had at that time declined purchasing them, and that he, Selim, had then bought them very cheaply. When I questioned him about the unburnt idol, he replied that he had received it from the well-

known antique forger, Martin Boulos, as also the four chisels, the latter for the purpose of closing up certain cracks and crevices in the clay. He further said that Martin Boulos had held out brilliant prospects to him which they might realise together if such forged articles could be sold. It is remarkable that Selim, in his declaration (upon which, since lying has become his second nature, no reliance whatever can be placed), always wished to give the impression that he *could* tell much more, but that *he would only do so in Mr. Shapira's presence*. This probably supplies the key to the whole business.

When, through the publication of Messrs. Socin and Kautzsch's pamphlet, the market value of the Moabitic antiquities had considerably fallen, Selim was dismissed by Mr. Shapira, who till then had kept him in his employment, and he was reduced to great poverty. A short time before Mr. Shapira left for Europe, Selim presented a petition here, in which he claimed wages due to him by his late employer; whereas, according to two bills in Mr. Shapira's possession, *he* proved to be the creditor, and not Selim. As the latter, however, would not yield, but persisted in his claims, I referred him to the competent Turkish authorities. There, of course, on the production of the bills by Mr. Shapira, Selim's claims were rejected; and on that occasion he told several persons, so that I came to hear of it, that if Mr. Shapira did not satisfy his demands to the last farthing he would "expose the whole of the Moabitic antiquities."

Even if, as above mentioned, the two idols acquired by Mr. Kitchener are suspected to be imitations, such is not the case with the other three clay idols which Kattan bought from Selim, and which he has since shown to me. To judge by their colour they seem to be very old, and in the deeply and elaborately engraved letters, all belonging to the well-known Moabitic alphabet, is found a quantity of hard, ancient-looking earth, firmly adhering to the clay. Some persons entirely unbiassed in this controversy, and experienced in judging of the age of pottery wares, to whom I showed the idols, declared them to be genuine, or at all events extremely old. The idea of these articles, as well as of those of the former collection, being imitations or forgeries is improbable, for many and frequently stated reasons, and yet it is not impossible that the idols in Mr. Kitchener's possession may be imitations, since even Mr. Shapira declares that he has one non-genuine clay figure. Mr. Koch's investigations in the year 1875 have proved it impossible for these articles to have been fabricated here in any *great quantity*, and yet the factory where they were fabricated to have remained undiscovered all this time. But, even granting such a possibility, the great and very genuine poverty of Selim seems sufficient proof that he could not have taken part in the wholesale profitable manufacture of ungenuine "Moabitica." He must, in such a case, at least have earned enough to save him from the utter poverty into which he has now fallen. The most probable explanation of his conduct, and of the circumstances under which the confiscated articles came into his possession, seems to be simply

that he attempted to extort money from Mr. Shapira. Thus his way of selling them to Kattan shows his wish to excite curiosity by an affected mysteriousness of demeanour, and my agent informed me that Selim's conduct during the search in his house could not but make him suspect that he actually wished for it, and was glad that it took place. And if, besides, his absurd statement when examined by me is taken into consideration—viz., that he could only tell the whole truth in Mr. Shapira's presence, the conviction is almost forced on one that he procured the unburnt idol and the four chisels, and cautiously directed public attention to them, in order to compromise Mr. Shapira, and thereby perhaps manage to extort something from him for himself, or simply by way of revenge. However, I shall not content myself with this impression, but shall continue my investigations, and hope to obtain some definite and final results. BARON MUNCHHAUSEN.

By Freiherr von Münchhaussen's kindness I have been allowed to take a photograph of the unbaked idol mentioned in his statement. In sending you a copy of the same, together with a photograph of genuine pottery, taken, some three years ago, by Lieut. Kitchener, I hope that the publication of the two woodcuts, side by side, will enable your readers to arrive at an accurate idea on the subject.

M. W. SHAPIRA.

VII.—FROM THE REV. W. HAYES WARD.

New York, *Dec.* 31, 1877.

It may be interesting, in connexion with Mr. Shapira's late communications to the *Athenæum*, to tell the reasons why some in America have been so slow to accept his wares as genuine.

About six years ago, before the first collection of his wares was purchased by the German Government, through the kindness of the Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, of Beirut, a collection of squeezes of "Moabite" inscriptions, and drawings of pottery and idols with their inscriptions, including a fair share of the coarse and obscene figures, was obtained from Mr. Shapira, and sent to New York to be examined by the directors of the American Palestine Exploration Society, with a view to a purchase. A number of these copies are before me as I write.

These inscriptions and figures were carefully examined, among others by Mr. Addison van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Prof. Isaac H. Hall, and myself, and our judgment was decidedly averse to their genuineness, although they came endorsed by Mr. Shapira's signature.

We found that it was utterly impossible to put them into words of a Semitic character. This was not through any lack of legibility, nor because the inscriptions were not of sufficient length. There is absolutely no reason to expect anything but inscriptions in a Semitic language from that region; but it was not in any way possible to reduce them to sense.

Then, again, the shape of the characters sufficiently proved that they were forgeries. There are, in the Phœnician alphabet, certain letters which, as every epigraphist knows, belong to the same class, so far as their construction is concerned, and which change their shape together. Such letters are *daleth* and *resh;* and such are *mem*, *nun*, and *shin*. To see *daleth* as a triangle and *resh* rounded was enough to prove the forgery. So it was absurd to find *mem* written in the later form, with the strokes at right angles, while *shin* was written in its oldest style, like our English W.

I may add that it was also startling to find, on the same squeeze, two long inscriptions, in two different alphabets, that could not have coexisted by less than five hundred years, one of these being Phœnician of the composite character above described, while the other was apparently made by random strokes, so as to produce the general effect of Nabathean.

Other evidence even more startling was not wanting. Of two of the longest inscriptions squeezes were sent. I noticed on the brown paper, over considerable portions, a light, whitish cloud, which appeared to me to suggest lime. It occurred to me, especially as the impressions of the letters and other marks seemed to agree therewith, that instead of being taken from black basalt at Um-el-Rasas and Aroer, they had been taken from a bed of mortar, impressed when wet with the inscription. This led to a more careful examination of the paper, when there were found adhering to it quite a number of hard white particles, which on analysis proved to be carbonate of lime, and which were just such as might have been detached from the bed of inscribed mortar, from which I have no doubt the squeezes were taken. This was confirmed by evident slips of the stick with which the letters were traced, so that the lines crossed each other at the apex of angles.

Not less surprising was the character of the border of the inscription. In one case the squeeze showed a border around the inscription of large dots, and in another of short diagonal lines, thus suggesting that the idea was taken by some ignorant forger from some plate in which the engraver had thus represented the edge of the stone.

The Palestine Exploration Society was advised not to purchase Mr. Shapira's collection, which was afterwards secured, much to our surprise, by the German Government.

William Hayes Ward.

P.S.—Mr. Shapira says that "the American party never went into Moab proper." The American party, in 1873, made its camp in Heshbon, a Moabitic city, and were there all summer, and made excursions into all parts of the country north of the Arnon, including all the places from which Mr. Shapira's pottery was *at that time* said to have come, including Heshbon, El-'Al, Mahsuh, Madeba, and Main. There was then no difficulty about hostile tribes, and the range of the Adwan extended as far as the Zarga Main, south of Madeba, without hostility. A son of Kablan, who acted at times as guide of the American party,

confidentially yet repeatedly told them that none of the antiquities in the possession of "the gentleman of Jerusalem," meaning Mr. Shapira, came from the east of the Jordan. Further, one Rev. Bahnam Hassûní, formerly pastor of the Protestant Church at Es-Salt, informed them that at the beginning of his career Selim endeavoured to induce him to enter upon this work of forging and palming off antiquities from Moab.

VIII.—From M. Clermont Ganneau.

Paris, Rue de Vaugirard 60, *Février*, 1878.

1° La première fois que j'eus occasion d'examiner des reproductions de poteries moabites (à Londres, vers 1872) je n'hésitai pas à déclarer que, pour moi, ces poteries étaient fausses, et que j'y croyais reconnaître la main d'un Arabe chrétien nommé Selîm.

2° Plus tard, pendant ma mission à Jérusalem (1873—74), j'acquis et publiai les preuves matérielles de ce qui n'était jusqu'alors qu'une présomption : je surpris le faussaire la main dans le sac, et se faussaire c'était le dit Selîm—et de deux.

3° D'un autre côté, M. Drake, qui ne peut être soupçonné d'avoir obéi à des idées préconçues, attendu qu'il a cru, au début, à l'authenticité des poteries, arrivait au même résultat et rencontrait, comme moi, au fond de l'affaire un nom, celui de Selîm—et de trois.

4° Il ne manquait plus, pour achever de convaincre les plus incrédules, que l'aveu même du mystificateur ; cet aveu nous l'avons aujourd'hui, grâce au Lieutenant Kitchener, et celui qui le fait c'est Selîm—et de quatre !

La piquante découverte de M. Kitchener me fait un devoir de livrer à la publicité un curieux document que j'ai conservé par devers moi pendant plusieurs mois : c'est une lettre autographe de Selîm, écrite en grec moderne fort incorrect, et à moi adressée au mois d'Août, 1877. J'y joins une traduction littérale que je dois à l'obligeance d'un de mes amis d'ici.

A Monsieur Ganneau.

De Jérusalem, *Mois de Août*, 6.*

D'abord je te demande des nouvelles de ta santé et ensuite je te dirai que quand† . . . les antiquités avec Khavadja Sapira, il me parla et me dit : "Je te donnerai beaucoup d'argent pourvu seulement que tu ne parles pas des choses secrètes relatives à la provenance des choses." Je m'en suis beaucoup occupé et à cette heure il me traite en ennemi parce que quand nos gardes s'en allèrent il me dit que je paie les hommes qui avaient mal parlé de nous, et moi, tout ainsi qu'il me l'avait dit, j'ai payé, d'ai voulu rentrer dans ces dépenses alors il me dit : "Maintenant je ne te crains plus parce que le roi le sait bien que ce sont des mensonges, il m'a payé ; toi et Ganneau (il sait) que vous voulez me nuire."

Pour moi je veux le perdre comme il m'a perdu, car je connais toute

* Vieux style. † Ici un mot douteux.

son affaire. Si tu veux que je vienne près de toi afin que je te dise tout et que tu le publies dans les journaux et qu'ainsi je dévoile tous ses mensonges, si tu le veux, écris à un de tes amis qu'il m'avance les fonds pour que je vienne près de toi et t'explique tout clairement, si tu veux que je sois présent pour rendre manifestes les mensonges depuis le commencement jusqu'à la fin. Ton serviteur,

SALIM KARI.

La suscription seule est en arabe. La lettre m'est arrivée par l'intermédiaire d'un de mes amis de Jérusalem que Selîm était venu trouver et à qu'il a débité une foule de choses que je m'abstiens de répéter. Je décline naturellement toute espèce de responsabilité pour cette lettre, dont je n'entends endosser en rien les assertions.

Je suis payé pour savoir la créance que méritent les dires de maître Selîm, mon ex-accusateur, devenu spontanément mon correspondant. Connaissant le pelèrin, je n'avais pas attaché à cette missive, embrouillée et paraissant dictée par un sentiment de vengeance, plus d'importance qu'elle n'en comportait. Je me demandais même par instants, je l'avoue, si cette démarche bizarre ne cachait pas un piége dressé contre moi, et si Selîm ne jouait pas au Zopyre. Je mis donc la lettre de côté, sans y répondre bien entendu, et j'attendis les événements: l'événement est venu sous la forme des statuettes achetées par M. Kitchener.

Libre aux derniers partisans de l'authenticité de refuser de se rendre à l'évidence; ce n'est certes pas moi qui entreprendrai la conversion de pécheurs aussi endurcis. Après tout, il leur reste toujours la ressource d'expliquer l'inexplicable volte-face de Selîm par une influence occulte, d'y voir même le résultat d'un plan machiavélique. N'est-ce pas moi qui ai offert autrefois à Selîm, dans la rue des Chrêtiens, je ne sais plus quelle somme fabuleuse pour acheter son faux témoignage contre M. Shapira? Aujourd'hui c'est Selîm qui m'a fait des avances pour "perdre" le dit M. Shapira!

IX.—FROM DR. NEUBAUER.

Bodleian Library, *Feb.* 15, 1878.

During my last visit to Berlin, in December, although very busy with the more particular object of my journey, I could not help devoting a day to visiting the famous Moabitic collection of pottery; permission having been most courteously granted me by the authorities in the Ministry of Public Instruction, where this collection is preserved in a room by itself, and not in the Museum, as is wrongly stated by Prof. Socin and M. Clermont Ganneau. It must be said, to the honour of the authorities of the Museum, that they never thought of accepting it for their establishment.

As I have already stated in your columns, I was perfectly persuaded, from the specimens published by Prof. Schlottmann, in the Journal of the German Oriental Society, that the pottery and idols are forgeries,

and I was confirmed in my belief by the elaborate book of Prof. Kautzsch, published in 1876, after a personal examination of the Berlin collection as well as those at Stuttgart and Basle. Still I thought I might find one or more pieces in the collection which would make the impression of being genuine, and justify Prof. Schlottmann's belief. I must say, however, that I have never seen such a heap of ugly objects altogether as in this collection, and I was quite astonished that a man of learning and common sense should not have seen in them at once the rudest forgeries possible. I shall not insist again upon the palæographical evidence of their spuriousness, nor on the fact that not a single Semitic word can be read in any of them, this having been made clear over and over again. Prof. Schlottmann, however, thinks he is able to explain the variety of forms assumed by one and the same letter in the same line, and Dr. Koch still believes the language might be some unknown one, although we know from the Mesha inscription what the Moabite language was like.

It has already been stated by Prof. Kautzsch that the shape of one of the gods has a resemblance to Napoleon the Third, wearing a *chapeau de gendarme*, and by myself that the goddess of the earth looks like a German girl; and now I find from personal inspection that one of the idols (that near the window at Berlin) is a copy of a Christ in the Greek churches, and that, too, executed in the rudest way possible.

Prof. Schlottmann says that these ugly figures are meant in the Old Testament by the word שקוץ, which I deny. The word means "abomination," and is applied to all idols in general, and even the Venus of Milo would not have had another denomination. The Prophets from first to last speak of idols of gold, silver, and other metals, of stone and wood, but never of those of clay. Would, for instance, the passages in Isaiah xli. 19, 20, Jeremiah ii. 28, Psalms cxv. 4 to 8, not have been the place to make allusion to such fragile idols? The only mention of idols formed by potters is to be found in the apocryphal book, Wisdom of Solomon, xv. 8, which refers probably to the Greek period in Palestine. How is it to be explained that in a place where so many idols and vases have been found not a single one in wood and metal occurs, as the Old Testament would lead us to expect? What are those heaps of smaller and larger tablets, or *tesseræ*, in the collection of Berlin if not a forgery by a person who knew of the existence of such objects in old times? How comes the vase near the door of the collection to be ornamented with four Maltese crosses? The forgery is evident, and is confirmed now by the discovery of Lieut. Kitchener. AD. NEUBAUER.

The correspondence has for the present closed with a letter from Mr. Shapira, in which he analyses the letters on the inscribed jars, and one from the Baron Von Münchhausen, which called forth two notes from Lieut. Conder and M. Ganneau. It contains, however, no new fact likely to be of service to those who take interest in this discussion.

DOORWAY OF NEWLY-DISCOVERED SYNAGOGUE AT SŬFSÂF.

(From a Photograph by Lieutenant Kitchener.)